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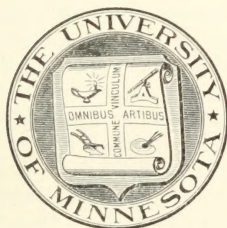
NUMBER 5

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF A COMMUNITY IN NORTHEASTERN MINNESOTA

BY

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## PREFACE

In selecting localities for the social and economic surveys conducted by the Division of Research in Agricultural Economics of the University of Minnesota, it has been the object to choose communities that are typical of different sections of the State. The first, published in 1913, covered a township in Southeastern Minnesota which is representative of those regions where diversified farming and dairying have reached a fairly high state of development. The community selected for this survey is in the cut-over section of Eastern Minnesota (between the Twin Cities and Duluth), where potato raising and dairying are the principal sources of agricultural income, and where farms are comparatively small. The other community selected is in the Red River Valley, near Crookston, and is typical of the large-farm grain-growing section of the State. The field work for these last two surveys, of which this is one, was performed during the summer of 1913.

This survey, and the one taken simultaneously in the Red River Valley, differ from that previously published in that an attempt has been made to include both a farming and a village community, instead of a farming community alone. A village has been selected as the center of economic activities, and the territory covered is that which is tributary to the village, i. e., the territory which uses the village both as a shipping point and as a place to buy supplies and professional services. In this way, it has been intended not only to bring out a comparison between life on the farm and life in a small Minnesota village, but also to bring out the economic dependence of the one on the other. In this survey, it was found that the differentiation between village life and farm life has developed to such a relatively slight extent, that the two are carried along together in the presentation of the data. In the Red River Valley survey, on the other hand, the village life is so entirely different from farm life that the two have been treated separately.

The object of these surveys is to subject to statistical measurement certain rural social and economic forces in order to fur-

nish more exact data as a foundation for constructive programs of rural betterment. No attempt is made in the presentation of these reports to offer such constructive programs, principally because the data obtained are confined to such restricted localities that broad generalizations would be dangerous to make. It is hoped, however, that as these studies continue, thus rendering comparisons of conditions in different communities possible, certain fundamental facts will gradually unfold, with the result that sane and definite methods of procedure may be evolved. In the meantime, it is also hoped that the facts set forth will not only prove suggestive to those who are studying the rural life problem, but that they may also furnish definite evidence, either corroborative or adverse, as to the wisdom of policies and theories that they may be advocating.

This series of surveys was originally planned by Mr. C. W. Thompson, formerly Director of the Bureau of Research in Agricultural Economics, University of Minnesota, but now in charge of the rural-organization work in the office of Markets and Rural Organization, United States Department of Agriculture. The preliminary arrangements for this survey, and the detailed planning of the schedules and methods of procedure were perfected by Mr. Thompson, with the aid of Mr. Warber, before the former's resignation from the University of Minnesota. It should also be stated that Mr. Thompson has given generously of his time in reading manuscript and in giving valuable counsel throughout the preparation of this report. The field work was performed during the summer of 1913 by Mr. G. P. Warber assisted by Mr. C. A. Halverson, and the writing of the report has been performed by Mr. Warber, now with the office of Markets and Rural Organization, United States Department of Agriculture. The able assistance of Miss Olga Axness in working up the statistical results from field notes is also gratefully acknowledged.

L. D. H. WELD,

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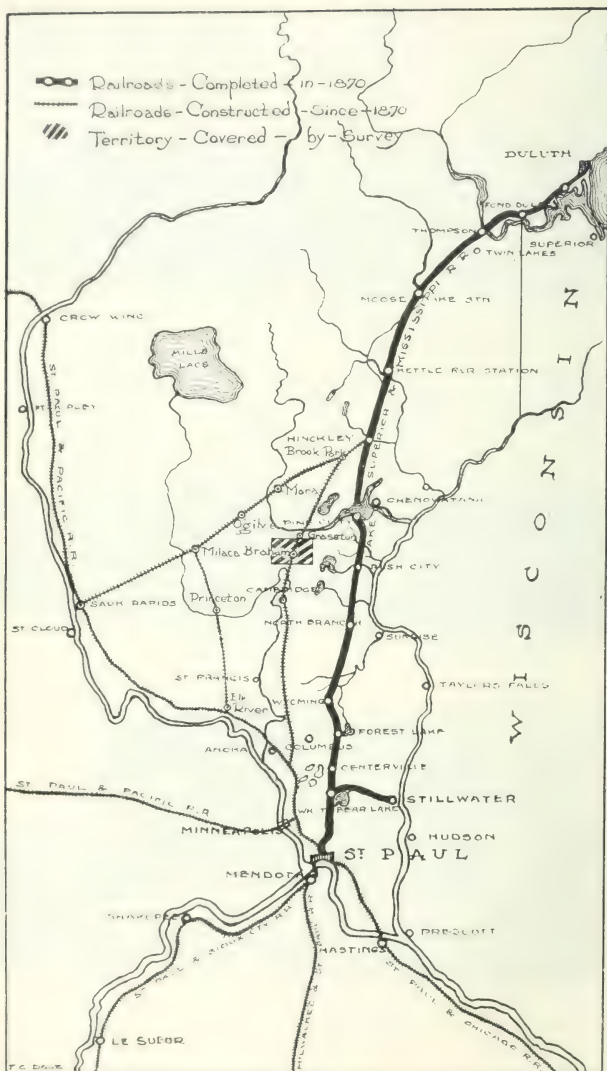
A general view of the village of Braham.



A general view of farming land in the Braham community



A view showing varying soil formations in this territory, caused by prehistoric glacial inundations.



Map 1. Eastern part of Minnesota showing location of community covered in this survey.

# SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF A COMMUNITY IN NORTHEASTERN MINNESOTA

## INTRODUCTION

The town of Braham which is the center of the community described in this survey is located in the extreme northwestern corner of Isanti County, State of Minnesota. The territory tributary to this village lies divided between the four counties of Isanti, Chisago, Pine, and Kanabec. The parts of these counties covered by the survey are indicated by the accompanying map. A reference to this will help one to understand not only important facts as to the topography, soil conditions, and natural vegetation, but will also help to give a better understanding as to the causes and incidents of the early settlement and development of the community.

As to the geology and topography in general, the Geological Survey of the State of Minnesota, Vol. II beginning on page 399, has the following description:

The greater part of this district is an approximately level plain of gravel and sand, belonging to the modified drift. Some portions of this tract are slightly or moderately undulating or rolling, with the elevation ten to twenty-five feet, rarely more, above the depressions and lakes; but it is mainly almost level with the sloughs and lakes only five to fifteen feet lower than the general surface. Several considerable areas, not included in this tract of modified drift, remain to be described in the ensuing paragraph.

"A belt of morainic till extends across Maple Ridge and Stanchfield, the northern tier of townships in Isanti County, and Nessel, the most northwestern township of Chisago County, having a prominently rolling or hilly contour, with the greatest heights forty to seventy-five feet above the hollows and lakes.

"The last act of the glacial epoch was to spread a vast mantle of gravel and sand, due to the melting of the glacier and the drainage from further north. . . . A bayou-like flood of muddy, tumultuous water, partly from the Mississippi Valley and partly from the St. Croix swept over this district.

"At a somewhat later stage the rivers cut into this gravel expanse, leaving a broken margin, and still later were again and again reduced. Thus there were formed three or more levels of gravel plains, the upper-





most and oldest forming the general upland, . . . and the others constituting terraces along the river (St. Croix).

"Earlier than the formation of this sheet of gravel and sand, or to a large extent contemporaneous with it, the ice lobe moving from the northwest, was spread over these counties. The result of its action was to let down a clay till. This till is distinctly morainic, excepting its most eastern portions where it becomes less stony and might be called pebbly clay. Prior to the spreading of this clay till there had been an inter-glacial epoch, and the climate had been suited to the growth of forests the remains of which are found in numerous wells in the town of Nessel, north part of Chisago County."

Many of the farmers of this section, having observed this latter strange phenomenon, believed it to be indisputable evidence of the great deluge referred to in biblical history. Likewise with regard to the numerous soil variations there are many fantastic notions as to how these came about.

An explanation of the early settlement of this territory during the time when there was still so much good prairie available for homesteading, may be had from the following bits of history of the beginning of the Superior and Mississippi Railway Company which opened up the territory covered by this survey. (See Map I.)

### RAILWAY HISTORY

The original charter granting permission to build this road was passed by an act of the Legislature, May 23, 1857. By a subsequent act in 1861 the charter was amended, and it was in accordance with the provisions of this latter act that the road was finally built. The farmers of to-day refer to this act with great resentment because "it gave away tax-free to railroads land which was taxed as soon as farmers owned it." In the main, the following quotations, taken from an old farmer who seemed to be pretty well informed on this act, appear to be fairly well in accordance with the facts: "In a very friendly sort of a way the Legislature authorized \$5,000,000 capital and as much debt as might be necessary. The State told the company to help itself; it could cross roads, appropriate 200 feet of road for its use on the way, and as much as might be found necessary for gravel or turn-outs, or anything of that sort. If the engineer in charge cared to use anything he might take it, any land, streams, timber, and materials of any kind. Only school lands had to be

paid for at \$1.25 per acre and roads and waterways had to be put back in shape.

"The company might commence to build at any convenient point within the State at the northwest end of Lake Superior and run by the easiest or most feasible route to some point on the Mississippi. Other conditions were of course also prescribed, though not very severe. Naturally the rights of the public had to be protected, and so the Legislature very wisely provided that conductors and brakemen had to wear badges, and locomotives had to have alarm bells attached."

The actual construction of the road made but little progress, however, until after the Legislature had succeeded in getting a liberal appropriation of Government lands besides those granted by itself. Quoting from the pamphlet issued by the land department of this railroad in 1870, "The land grant made by the Government of the United States and by the State of Minnesota in aid of the construction of this road is the largest in quantity and most valuable in kind ever made to any railway in any of the states of the Union. The grant amounts to seventeen square miles or sections (10,880 acres) of land for each mile of road, of which ten sections per mile were granted by the United States and seven sections per mile by the State of Minnesota."

About 1870 the road was nearing completion and the company began to advertise for settlers. The large amount of land at its disposal may be seen by a reference to Map II on page 2. All the shaded area on this map was property of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company in 1870. The unsettled portions had been either filed as homesteads or otherwise disposed of by the State. Just why this densely wooded area should have been taken up by settlers at so early a date, when there was so much good prairie land to be had for farming purposes, can best be seen by the arguments put forth in the pamphlet issued by this company at that time. The following bits of quotations will not only illustrate some of these, but will also throw light on some of the important history of the early settlement of this country:

"Portions of this land are covered with pine and other valuable timber and interspersed with prairie and natural meadows or grazing lands. Settlers coming to this State from old settled districts should bear in mind that this is a comparatively new country and that they can scarcely hope to find all the comforts and conveniences of their

old homes. To some extent and for a time, they may have to rough it; but with industry and a determination to succeed, none, not even the poorest, need fear failure. A few years at the most will secure them a good home, while busy towns and villages will spring up around them. If to this be added a healthy climate and a soil unsurpassed in fertility, an abundance of pure water from running streams and innumerable lakes, whose picturesque scenery is the theme of poet and painter, and within a state whose unexampled progress is a marvel of the present decade—what more can be desired?"

It may appear to some that such glowing accounts as the foregoing would have but little influence on prospective settlers, yet several of the few remaining pioneers of this community stated that they know of little else that so attracted them into this new and wild territory as the splendid opportunities for hunting and fishing and the beautiful outdoor life in the summer.

These company lands were sold in tracts of forty acres and upwards for cash or on long credits at prices varying from four to eight dollars per acre, a liberal deduction being made for an entire cash payment. It may not be generally known but it is a fact that at this early date there was already in practice a system of amortization which has attracted so much attention in connection with our agricultural credit discussions in recent months. For instance, eighty acres were sold at five dollars per acre on the following terms of payment:

	Principal	Interest*	Amortization
1st.....	\$22.00	\$26.46	\$48.46
2d.....	54.00	22.68	76.68
3d.....	54.00	18.90	72.90
4th.....	54.00	15.12	69.12
5th.....	54.00	11.34	65.34
6th.....	54.00	7.56	61.56
7th.....	54.00	3.78	57.78
8th.....	54.00	.....	54.00

The purchaser had the privilege to pay up in full at any time he desired, thereby saving the payment of interest.

### EARLY SETTLEMENTS

Rush City was the nearest railway point for the settlers of the territory covered in this survey. The railway pamphlet mentioned above gives the description of this place for 1870 as follows: "It is situated 54 miles from St. Paul in the midst of a very fertile and productive region, extending west for a distance of from twenty-five to thirty miles, east to the St. Croix River.

A settlement has sprung up here which is rapidly increasing and the town will doubtless soon become an active business place. A sawmill and machinery for the manufacture of furniture from timber, such as walnut, butternut, etc., growing in the vicinity, has been constructed which, with others about to be erected, will add greatly to the value of lands throughout this district. A sawmill for the cutting of pine timbers is also in operation within a mile of the station, but has not thus far been able to supply the demand from the immediate neighborhood." A glance at the two foregoing maps will give the location of this town as well as those following.

"Brunswick, twenty miles west of the railroad line on Snake River at the mouth of Ground House River, contains one sawmill, a number of dwellings, a schoolhouse, two stores, and two hotels." (At present Brunswick is merely a single country store with a postoffice in connection.) The reason for the importance of this point at that early date will be seen from what follows in the quotation: "About 20,000,000 feet of lumber annually passes from Ground House River to Snake River at this point . . . . Mission, Mud, Rice, and Stinchfield creeks; Ground House and Ann Rivers are first class logging streams."

Further information concerning the early settlement of this territory can be gleaned from the following quotations taken from the *Taylor's Falls Reporter* in 1869, May 29: "Three miles from the station of Rush Creek is Rush Lake, one of the prettiest lakes in the State. It is in the heart of the sugar maple country, the region being heavily timbered. The soil is very rich and the country is being rapidly settled. . . . Sixty-five miles from St. Paul the railroad crosses Snake River whence it runs into Cross Lake. . . . There commences the great pine district. It is estimated that this season 20,000,000 feet of logs will pass through the sluice at Chengwatana (located on the shores of the Cross Lake), thence the logs float into the St. Croix River a few miles distant."

#### NATIVITY OF SETTLERS

Many of these early settlers were natives or had at least been in this country a number of years prior to their coming into these parts. The following table shows the various parts of the world from which the settlers of this region came:



TABLE I  
NATIVITY OF EARLY SETTLERS

NATIVE-BORN	Chisago County	Isanti County	Kanabec County	Pine County	Totals
Minnesota.....	2,069	1,117	69	275	3,530
Middle Western States.....	278	93	17	46	434
Southern States.....	27	.....	12	27	66
East Central States.....	408	166	18	80	672
New England.....	143	148	42	54	387
Canada.....	138	54	8	65	265
FOREIGN-BORN					
Great Britain.....	37	36	.....	12	85
Ireland.....	114	24	.....	56	194
Sweden.....	2,369	2,006	151	102	4,628
Norway.....	25	14	.....	7	46
Denmark.....	40	9	.....	1	50
France.....	5	.....	.....	.....	5
Austria.....	12	.....	.....	2	14
Germany.....	327	184	6	50	576
Other foreign countries.....	130	63	8	71	272
Total foreign.....	3,059	2,336	165	310	5,870
Total population.....	6,122	3,914	331	857	11,224
Per cent foreign.....	50%	60%	50%	36%	Average 52.2%

The nativity of the present day population of the particular townships with which we are immediately concerned, may be seen from the following table:

TABLE II  
NATIVITY OF PRESENT POPULATION—MINNESOTA STATE CENSUS, 1905

	CHISAGO COUNTY	ISANTI COUNTY			KANABEC COUNTY		PINE COUNTY
	Nessel Town- ship	Braham Village	Maple Ridge Town- ship	Stanch- field Town- ship	Brunswick Town- ship	Grass Lake Town- ship	Royal- ton Town- ship
Native born, outside of Minnesota.....	71	52	44	36	35	39	45
Minnesota born.....	717	237	580	548	442	557	498
Germany.....	122	1	1	2	8	6	66
Sweden.....	324	149	422	413	407	415	237
Norway.....	4	1	9	6	23	8	2
Canada.....	5	2	2	1	2	.....	1
Ireland.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Denmark.....	12	3	.....	2	1	1	7
England.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
All other countries.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	1	2
Total foreign born	473	159	434	456	441	431	316
Per cent of total foreign populat'n	37.5%	35.5%	41.0%	43.8%	48.0%	41.9%	36.8%

A study of the following figures from the national census for 1900 and 1910, gives a further analysis of the nativity of parents:

TABLE III  
NATIVITY OF PARENTS, 1900 AND 1910

	Chisago County		Isanti County		Kanabec County		Pine County	
	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900
Natives of native parentage	1,960	1,467	1,410	931	1,410	644	3,100	1,852
Per cent of total population	14.5%	11.1%	11.2%	8.0%	21.8%	14.0%	19.5%	16.0%
Natives of foreign or mixed parentage	7,094	6,762	6,758	5,926	3,016	1,972	7,591	5,096
Per cent of total population	52.4%	51.0%	53.6%	50.8%	46.7%	42.7%	47.8%	44.1%
Natives of foreign parentage	5,401		5,350		2,367		5,835	
Natives of mixed parentage	1,693		1,408		649		1,756	
Foreign born	4,455	5,018	1,443	4,812	2,032	1,956	5,002	4,440
Per cent of total population	32.9%	37.9%	35.2%	41.2%	31.5%	42.4%	31.5%	38.5%

The foregoing records show that the population is decidedly Scandinavian. It is evident, however, that foreign immigration has practically ceased, and that in this community as well as throughout this region in general, most of the population has become considerably Americanized.

#### GROWTH OF POPULATION

The following table has been taken in the main from United States census returns, and it shows the growth of population of the community by decades:

TABLE IV  
STATISTICS OF POPULATION

	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860
CHISAGO COUNTY:						
Nessel Township	1,131	1,288	1,065	867	500*	
Isanti County:						
Brainerd Village	406					
Maple Ridge Township	983	1,015	554	376	268	
Stanchfield Township	1,005	1,175	759	491		
Kanabec County:						
Brunswick Township	924	766	340			
Crook Lake Township	805	771	451	480*	93	30
Crook Lake Village	189					
Pine County:						
Bayview Township	955	786	342	55		
Total population of towns	6,398	5,801	3,511	2,269	861	30
Population per square mile	29.6	26.9	16.2	10.5	3.9	

\*No federal census returns—estimated from state census.

As may be seen from a glance at the population table of the townships covered by this survey, the village of Braham, which now is the center of this community, does not appear in the national census returns until the year 1910. This is because it was not until the year 1898 that the Great Northern cut-off, running through this territory from Coon Creek to Brook Park junctions,\* was completed, and it is in connection with the completion of this railroad that the rapid development of this country hinges as well as the incidental growth of the villages of Braham and Grasston. A noteworthy fact in connection with these figures is the large population that this territory supports, considering the small proportion of the land which is improved. A study of the tables in the following chapter exemplifying the agricultural development of the community, will bring out this point very forcibly. The increase of population has about reached its limit, however, as may be seen from the following table in comparing the per cent of increase of the two decades 1900-1910 and 1890-1900. The counties of Kanabec and Pine both had a very remarkable increase during the last decade. This is to be explained by the fact that these counties still have several townships which are as yet but partially under cultivation. None of these sparsely populated townships are included in the survey, however.

TABLE V  
RECENT GROWTH OF POPULATION

County	Total population					Increase				Population per square mile	
	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870	1900-1910	Per cent	1890-1900	Per cent	Total	Rural
Chisago.....	13,537	13,248	10,359	7,982	4,358	289	2.3	2,889	27.9	31.7	17.6
Isanti.....	12,615	11,675	7,607	5,063	2,035	940	8.1	4,068	53.5	28.5	28.5
Kanabec.....	6,461	4,614	1,579	505	93	1,847	40.0	3,035	192.2	12.1	12.1
Pine.....	15,878	11,546	4,052	1,365	648	4,332	37.5	7,494	184.9	11.2	11.2

The writer desires to explain to the reader that most of the findings of this survey have been organized and classified into eight different chapters which, for the sake of definiteness of purpose, are grouped into three parts. Part I consists of the three chapters which describe "how the community makes a living;" Part II includes the chapters which describe "how the community



is regulated and inspired in its ideals and activities;" Part III concludes with a description and a statistical enumeration of "what life affords to this community."

In the presentation of data revealed by this organized method of social discovery it has been the purpose of the writer to eliminate his own personal predilections or bias. Through frequent use of quotations it is hoped that the views and the spirit of the community itself may be sensed, if not accurately gauged. The writer's own views and conclusions follow the body of the survey proper. It is hoped that these purely personal views may not prove prejudicial to the body of the survey which was planned and executed in a strictly impersonal and objective manner.





PART I

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES



Modern farm machinery can not be used to the greatest advantage when trees and stumps are allowed to remain in the fields.



County ditches have reclaimed much land which was formerly submerged by shallow lakes.



A typical view of a potato field. Only a few farmers have a sufficiently large acreage for an economical investment in potato machinery.

## CHAPTER I

### FARMING

In the introduction we have dealt in a general way with the beginnings of this community. What we shall have to say in this chapter will pertain more particularly to agricultural conditions. From a few of the very first settlers in what is now known as the Braham community, the following bits of historical data were obtained.

Lumbering had been going on in this section since about 1850. In the year 1867, there was a colony of about twenty farmers who had homesteaded their one hundred and sixty acres each, and had made crude beginnings at farming. Most of the settlers hewed out the material with which they constructed their houses. The nearest lumber-mill was at St. Francis on the Rum River about thirty miles away. As we have already seen the first local mill was put in at Brunswick in 1869. A shingle-mill was also put in operation there about the same time. Before that they used to split out shingles or hew them out of blocks. It is said that the Scandinavians used to soak these blocks in hot water and then split or shave off the shingles.

It will be remembered that at this time the railroad had not been constructed up to Rush City, and it was necessary for these early settlers to go down to St. Francis and other points for their flour and other necessary supplies. Some of these early Yankee farmers made a little extra money by "locating newcomers at the rate of twelve dollars a head," taking them down on foot to the Taylors Falls land office forty miles distant.

Practically all of these early settlers brought families with them and for a number of years their lot was an exceedingly hard one. Even after the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad began to operate up to Rush City in 1869, they were obliged to pay as much as five dollars for a sack of flour. Some of the farmers in these early years did not make enough to pay taxes. In many cases storekeepers won the undying gratitude of these unfortunates by paying the taxes for them. The manager of one big lumber company also helped out by distributing potatoes for

seed, free of charge. If it had not been for the work that was offered to these early comers by the lumber companies, very few of them would have been able to pull through. As it was, almost any able-bodied laborer could get thirty dollars per month or more by working in lumber camps during the winter.

The type of agriculture practiced was of the very crudest. Hardwood timber covered practically all of the heavier soil which was first taken up. It is said that during the first few years, to get a little clearing, settlers would cut down the choicest kind of hardwood timber—logs which would now be worth sixty dollars per thousand feet—and burn them. An acre or so of clearing was all that the average family had, and upon this they would "scratch in a few potatoes and other vegetables between the stumps." When later the industrious settlers began to buy oxen, they of course tried to plow as much as possible, but such plowing was between the stumps which were hard to grub out. In fact it is said that it was not until the Scandinavians came into the country that grubbing was at all begun. The old German and Swedish settlers say that "American fellows were too smart to wear themselves out by a life time of grubbing which would clear at best only six or seven acres; but we fool foreigners weren't afraid to work as long as we could make enough to live on." One of these old settlers who was "still on the job" tells of how the Indians used to taunt him about his working so hard "only to get something to eat and live!" Anyone who has seen the immense stumps with "roots that had to be followed out as far as thirty feet in some cases," can not refrain from sympathizing with these old men, many of whom were bent and prematurely old from over-work. Several representative farmers averred that "if one were to figure the work required to clear most of these lands from timber and stumps at the 'going wages,' it would have cost from seventy-five to one hundred dollars per acre." Indeed contracts were let for simply cutting down and burning the timber at the rate of thirty-five dollars per acre. This still left the stumps on the ground, to get rid of which is by far the hardest part of clearing the lands.

Not only the men were obliged to work hard in those days. The *Anoka County Union*, July 7, 1870, gives an account of a woman's lot in that new country at that time: "We have women in this community that we challenge the world and part of New

York State to compete with. One of them goes into the field partially arrayed in male attire and sways the scythe with all the ease, grace, and efficiency of any farmer. About the eleventh hour, she repairs to her domicile, prepares the frugal meal for herself and family, and after the repast, with rake in hand, does duty for the remainder of the day. No doubt she has been a 'cradler' in her day, for our informant says she has been the mother of thirteen children. We have another that will go into the woods in midwinter and help to propel a cross-cut saw with as much dexterity as any man, and can wield the hoe equal to the best. Think of this you pampered, pale-faced, proud, pompous, novel-reading, parlor-bred, dames of the beau monde!"

Money was loaned to the farmers by storekeepers at ten or twelve per cent. Almost any settler was able to buy the necessary implements on credit from his local merchant. During these early days about the only source of cash income was the hard-wood which they would cut and let dry for one season, after which it would be sold to their local "store man" receiving in "store pay," usually about two dollars and fifty cents per cord.

In the fall of 1869 the first threshing machine was brought into this community. The charge was eight cents a bushel for threshing grain; and for the little wheat that farmers sometimes had to sell, they never got more than one dollar a bushel, the local price being about seventy-five cents. One old settler told how, when he had his first crop threshed, he had to board five teams, together with the men that went with the outfit for three days on account of rain; and before they left they ate up all of the feed which he had raised during the year.

After the first ten years most of the farmers began to "get on their feet" and were fairly well started. During all this time, as has already been indicated, practically the entire income from the farms was made during the winter months by selling cord wood to the railroad company at Rush City. (It will be remembered that at this time locomotives were fired entirely with wood.) Tamarack and ash were also cut up into ties and sold to the railroad company or, more usually, to the local storekeeper, who in turn shipped them to the Twin Cities. The common price for these 8' x 6" x 6" ties was twenty cents a piece. The white oak ties sold at thirty-two cents a piece. There was more money in this than in cutting up and selling cord wood. One of



the old timers said that a good tie-man could make five or six dollars a day if the trees did not have too many knots.

### AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

From these crude beginnings let us turn to the agricultural development since that time as shown by a comparison of United States census figures for 1880 and 1910. The following tables present a summarized view of the agricultural situation at these two dates in the two counties which include the greater part of the territory covered by this survey.

TABLE VI  
COMPARISON OF AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS, 1880 AND 1910

	Year	Isanti County	Kanabec County	Both counties
Land in farms, acres. . . . .	1880 1910	93,903 237,642	8,680 116,370	102,583 354,012
Improved land in farms, acres. . . . .	1880 1910	26,043 109,642	837 37,370	26,880 147,012
Woodland in farms, acres. . . . .	1880 1910	18,759 85,417	7,111 24,850	25,870 110,267
Other unimproved land in farms, acres. . . . .	1880 1910	49,101 42,583	732 54,150	49,833 96,733
Per cent of land area in farms. . . . .	1880 1910	33.2% 84.0%	2.5% 34.1%	17.3% 59.0%
Per cent of farm land improved. . . . .	1880 1910	27.7% 46.1%	9.7% 32.1%	18.7% 39.1%
Average acres per farm. . . . .	1880 1910	108.0 115.2	134.0 114.4	121.0 114.8
Average improved acres per farm. . . . .	1880 1910	30.0 53.1	12.7 36.7	21.3 44.9

From Table VI it will be seen that much of the farm land in this community still remains to be improved; forty-six per cent, the figure for Isanti County, most nearly represents the condition of this community. The average amount of improved land per farm in this particular community is even lower than the average of the two counties as given in the table; our own figures show that for this community there are only thirty-seven acres of improved land per average farm, against 65.4 acres of unimproved land. From the table it appears that the rate at which the land is being improved is very low; in thirty years there has been an increase of only twenty per cent; about two-thirds of one per cent increase of improved land per year. Practically the whole

of this increase is due to clearing the land from stumps. This, as we have seen, is a very hard and slow task. At present very few farmers try to do any grubbing at all. The cost is too high. It pays better to pasture the land after the trees and shrubs have been cut off. In about five or six years most of the stumps rot out, and then it is only necessary to dynamite the few larger sound stumps. In this way, the farmers expect to make arable practically all of the land which is not swamp. Fortunately very little of the land of this community is covered with boulders large enough to interfere with cultivation.

While this method of clearing the land from stumps by waiting for them to rot is, of necessity, a slow method of reducing these cut-over lands to an arable condition, it seems to be about the only practicable way of going about it. To a traveler who is passing through this country for the first time, it seems a rather slipshod method of farming. Everywhere one sees small and irregularly shaped fields, the cultivation of which is, in many cases, further obstructed by a few remaining trees and stumps. It seems that the natives of these regions have become so used to these conditions that they hardly consider the advisability of having the obstructing stumps removed, or of putting the fields into more regular shapes by draining out a few low and wet places. However, some of the recent settlers from Illinois and Iowa are doing valuable demonstration work along this line. Their previous experience in farming under conditions where tile drainage is common and where modern machinery can be used to a greater advantage, has convinced them of the profitableness of putting these finishing touches to the improvement of their fields. Only six per cent of the farmers in this community reported any tile drainage, with an average of only 384 feet of tiling per farm, while the largest amount reported by any one farmer was eight hundred feet.

From Table VII it can be seen that there has been a relative decrease in the number of farms under fifty acres in size, except for the few farms ranging from three to nine acres. The reason for this increase in the proportion of farms over fifty acres is, that except for a very few small truck farms near villages of some importance, it is hard, under the conditions prevailing in this territory, for even the thriftiest of farmers to support a family on less than fifty acres. From the per-cent-of-total column it

TABLE VII  
CHANGES IN SIZE OF FARMS, 1880 AND 1910

Farms classified by Size	Year	Isanti County	Kanabec County	Per cent of total
3 to 9 acres.....	1880	4	.....	.4
	1910	21	12	1.1
10 to 19 acres.....	1880	12	.....	1.3
	1910	17	6	.7
20 to 49 acres.....	1880	161	5	17.8
	1910	247	184	14.0
50 to 99 acres.....	1880	258	19	29.7
	1910	734	387	36.4
100 to 499 acres.....	1880	432	41	50.7
	1910	1,041	419	47.4
500 to 999 acres.....	1880	1	.....	.1
	1910	3	7	.3
1,000 acres and over.....	1880	.....	2	.07
	1910	.....	.....	.....
Average acres per farm.....	1880	108	134	.....
	1910	115	114	.....

will be seen that the largest number of farms are included in the group ranging in size from one hundred to five hundred acres. From the fact that the average number of acres per farm is only 134 in Isanti County and 114 in Kanabec County, it is evident that the greatest number of these farms are those which are but slightly over one hundred acres in size. This cut-over region is preëminently the region for small farms.

Table VIII brings out particularly the increased amount of machinery used in this territory as well as the importance of live stock in connection with the farming as it is practiced in these two counties. In Table XIII is shown the proportions of different forms of capital invested in these farms. From Table VIII it will be seen that live stock is becoming important. Table IX gives a somewhat detailed analysis of the kind of live stock kept on these farms, and of its relative importance.

Table IX is especially significant in showing the importance of the dairy part of the live-stock industry of this section of the country. As we have already seen in discussing the difficulty of clearing the cut-over timber lands, the business of dairy farming is especially adapted to this region, because it permits the utilization of otherwise useless stump lands for pasturing purposes. The average farm of this community has 7.1 milch cows. This

TABLE VIII  
INCREASE IN VALUE OF FARMS

	Year	Isanti County	Kanabec County	Total of both counties
Value of all farm property . . . . .	1880 1910	\$1,028,385 9,123,309	\$ 49,666 4,698,416	\$ 1,078,051 13,821,725
Value of land . . . . .	1880 1910	759,564 5,083,872	35,244 2,925,476	794,808 8,009,348
Value of buildings . . . . .	1880 1910	8,116 2,546,210	510 1,044,792	8,626 3,591,002
Value of implements and machinery . . . . .	1880 1910	70,394 426,921	2,056 166,954	72,950 593,875
Value of domestic animals, poultry, and bees . . . . .	1880 1910	189,811 1,066,306	11,856 561,194	201,667 1,627,500
Total value per farm . . . . .	1880 1910	1,184 4,422	764 4,620	Average 974 4,521
Average value of land and buildings per farm . . . . .	1880 1910	884 3,699	550 3,904	717 3,801

TABLE IX  
NATURE OF THE INCREASE IN LIVE STOCK ON FARMS

	Year	Isanti County	Kanabec County
Total number of cattle . . . . .	1880 1910	5,506 18,997	295 10,810
Number of dairy cows . . . . .	1880 1910	2,229 10,446	135 5,454
Number of horses . . . . .	1880 1910	1,054 5,563	46 2,435
Number of working oxen . . . . .	1880 1910	863	126
Number of swine . . . . .	1880 1910	1,365 3,225	94 1,524
Number of sheep . . . . .	1880 1910	2,700 2,360	15 2,868
Number of goats . . . . .	1880 1910	96	868
Number of poultry of all kinds . . . . .	1880 1910	11,963 73,129	255 27,460

is even less than what the better farmers think they should have, yet it is a goodly number, considering the small proportion of improved land in the average farm. So also, having in view the comparatively small-sized farms of this region, it is significant to

note that the number of milch cows per farm is larger than the average for the State.

There is no prevailing breed type shown in the herds of this community. Most farmers when asked about this matter stated their breed was "just plain common scrub stock, mostly cow, I guess." Hardly any one has attempted to do anything in the way of raising beef cattle or fattening steers. This is due to the scarcity of corn for feeding. The local stock buyer states that most of his shipments are mixed carload lots of old worn-out milch cows, calves, and a few poorly-fed steers and hogs. Needless to say it is hard to obtain top prices for such nondescript "lots." The movement to supplant the native "scrub" breed of cattle with pure breeds of a recognized milking strain is just beginning. Of 492 farmers in this survey, only 0.5 per cent reported using a pure-bred sire. In this respect again, the newcomers from Iowa and other better developed farming regions are leaders.

Owing to the small size of the farms and the limited amount of field work, only a few draft animals are required on these farms. The average number of horses is 2.8. In the case of horses, as with cattle, there is no predominant breed. Many farmers still prefer to use a scrub or grade stallion just because the service fees are three or five dollars less. There are but few good "farm chunks" of good scale and conformation. Hardly anyone knows anything about the more notable and superior "family strains" within the same breed. "A pedigree is a pedigree"; one registered animal is as good as another to the average farmer, though he does often object to some minutiae, like the color of the feet, or the amount of white on the face.

It will be seen that the use of oxen has become entirely a thing of the past. One of the old settlers remarked that the change from oxen to horse power, only well begun by 1880, was as ill-advised as the present-day tendency for some farmers to get automobiles before they can well afford them. Hardly any farmers felt that they could afford to keep a special "driving horse" for the use of the "women folks" to drive to town or to go visiting, although 5.8 per cent of the farmers reported having a horse which was especially fitted for such use when not otherwise engaged in field work.

Swine production has received but scant attention from the average farmer of the community. Only fifty-eight per cent of

the farms visited had any hogs at all during the months that this survey was made, although they may have purchased one or two later in the fall to be fed up for purposes of slaughter and home consumption in the winter. Of those who did report having swine, the average number kept was only 6.3. More will be said in regard to the neglect of this phase of farming in the concluding paragraphs of this chapter.

There seems to have been but little, if any, progress in sheep production. Only ten per cent of the farms of this community have any sheep, and they have an average of only 7.5 head per farm. Those who keep the sheep maintain that they can do so at but little additional expense, and that the sheep are rather helpful in keeping down weeds in the fields and, to some extent, underbrush in pastures. In this connection it is interesting to note that a considerable number of goats are being kept by the farmers of Kanabec County to aid them in clearing the underbrush and thus aiding grass to start.

The average number of chickens kept on a farm is 56.5. Perhaps one of the chief reasons for this small number is that these farms produce but little grain and that therefore a larger number of poultry would entail additional expense for maintenance. Table X shows the importance of the live-stock products in this section.

The average value of live-stock products from the farms of this community would undoubtedly be somewhat higher than the

TABLE X  
VALUE OF LIVE-STOCK PRODUCTS

Kind of product	Year	Isanti County	Kanabec County	Per average farm
Dairy products	1880	\$ 28,116	\$ 1,288	\$ 31.51
	1910	228,288	154,058	136.75
Eggs produced	1880	10,656	208	11.64
	1910	57,911	14,169	25.78
Apiary products	1880	345		.37
	1910	188	1,058	.45
Wool and mohair	1880	2,610	18	2.82
	1910	1,688	2,410	1.46
Receipts from sale of animals	1910	128,021	71,581	71.38
Value of animals slaughtered on farm	1910	51,162	21,158	25.86
Value of dairy products used on farm	1910	46,054	40,209	30.85



average as given in the above table for the two counties as a whole. While it may be that there are some farms in this community where the average amount of dairy products sold per cow is no more than about twenty dollars per year, there are no records of such a farm in this survey. From the creamery records of a large number of the farmers, the poorest showing was an average production of \$2.01 per cow during the month of January. Since this is the lowest production month of the year, it appears that no farmer gets less than thirty dollars per cow during the year; the average, judging from the creamery records, appears to be somewhat above forty dollars per cow. There were a number of farmers whose average sale per cow amounted to as high as sixty-five and seventy-five dollars per year. The wide range in productiveness of dairy animals in this community is not only due to differences in the dairy qualities of the animals on the various farms, but also to differences in the amount of concentrates and succulent forage in the form of silage fed during winter months. Because farmers generally, in this community, feed but very few concentrates or grains, the returns of the dairy fluctuate much more widely than they do in older dairy communities where more care is given to feeding of live stock and where perhaps grain feed and other concentrates are somewhat cheaper. Although the price received for butter fat at the creamery is much higher during the winter months than during the spring and summer months when the milk flow is the largest, the months of January and February each yield only six per cent of the total year's income from the dairy, as against 11.5 per cent, the cash return for the month of July. This average dairy production record was computed on the basis of the returns of thirty-six representative farmers who sold their cream at farmers' creameries. It indicates that there is opportunity for steadying the dairy production during the year by the use of silage during winter months.

The average value of other live-stock products of the two counties given in the table is fairly representative of conditions in this particular community, with a possible exception of the receipts from the sale of animals. Our own returns would indicate that the farmers of this community sell annually an average of ninety-six dollars worth of live stock from the farm. Only a

few people keep bees, although this is a very favorable region for producing honey.

TABLE XI  
LEADING FARM CROPS—ACREAGE

Kind of crop	Year	Isanti County	Kanabec County
Corn.....	1880	2,078	30
	1910	7,568	1,226
Oats.....	1880	1,919	49
	1910	15,249	3,499
Wheat.....	1880	9,505	193
	1910	147	70
Rye.....	1880	716	.....
	1910	4,624	144
Barley.....	1880	35	15
	1910	453	508
Potatoes.....	1880	492	45
	1910	16,798	2,652
Tame grasses.....	1880	.....	.....
	1910	10,134	13,212
Wild grasses.....	1880	.....	.....
	1910	20,069	6,385
Total forage.....	1880	6,468	211
	1910	32,131	19,004

The most striking thing about the leading farm crops of this part of the country is the relative insignificance of the grain crops with the possible exception of oats. This will become more evident when we consider the average number of acres of these various crops on the average farm. Corn is of very little importance, there being on the average only 3.9 acres per farm. In very recent years, however, there have been a few farmers who, by careful selection of good seed and good tillage of their crop, have grown fair-sized fields of corn which have yielded them very good returns per acre. One of the farmers in this community won first prize in a corn contest conducted by one of the leading farm periodicals of Minnesota. It is reported that his corn yielded almost one hundred bushels per acre during that year. While such a yield as this is, of course, phenomenal for any corn country, it nevertheless shows the possibilities in this direction if farmers should give corn culture more attention.

Rye is of more importance in this country than wheat as may

be seen from Table XI. It usually yields about the best of any grain crop in the section, and when ground, makes an excellent feed for cows and swine. The average number of acres of rye per farm during the year 1912 was 3.8.

Only forty-eight per cent of the farmers raised any wheat during the year 1912, and the average number of acres on these farms was 5.8. Although the farmers admit that the raising of wheat can not be done profitably under existing conditions, many feel that they ought to raise at least enough wheat to exchange for flour for domestic use. Only a few (the younger and more alert ones) figure that it would be a more profitable business to purchase the flour needed in the home with the money received for other products that can be raised more economically.

Barley was raised by only 0.5 per cent of the farmers in the community, and they raised an average of only 2.7 acres per farm. The little barley that is grown is used entirely for feed purposes.

Oats are more generally grown than any other cereal crop. This is because oats are preëminently the approved grain feed for horses. The average number of acres raised per farm during the year 1912 was 6.9.

Practically the only cash crop of this farming country is the potato crop. Sixty-five per cent of the farmers of this community raised some potatoes for sale during the year 1912. The average number of acres per farm during that year was 6.1. This is not a large acreage, but it is all that the average family can handle without a special investment in potato machinery, or without extra hired help during the digging season. Only 3.5 per cent of the farmers of this community had invested in potato digging machines. The value of the potatoes sold from the farm during the year 1912 averaged about \$175 per farm.

Although of small importance for the territory as a whole, cucumbers are raised to some extent by the farmers in the vicinity of Braham. A firm of manufacturing wholesale grocers, located in St. Paul, has been making contracts with these farmers to furnish cucumbers for use at the firm's local pickling plant. The figures of 1912 are not available, but during the year 1911 the company held eighty-eight contracts covering seventy-two acres of land devoted to the culture of cucumbers. During that year, the farmers, who entered into these contracts with the

company, were paid \$4,135 for the pickles delivered at the factory. This makes an average return per acre of a little more than fifty-seven dollars. This statement is somewhat misleading, however, as to the profitableness of raising cucumbers, because of the eighty-eight farmers who signed contracts, fourteen, with eighteen acres, had no returns whatever. Deducting this from the acreage given above, and using fifty-four as the divisor, we get an average of seventy-six dollars per acre. Again, ten farmers whose total "contracted acreage" was five acres, did not get as much as ten dollars each. Eliminating these also from the total given above, there are left forty-nine acres of fairly successful cultivation; and the receipts from those forty-nine acres were \$4,068. Thus the average per acre for the successful cultivator is brought up to eighty-three dollars. Possibilities in single-acre lots are shown in the returns received by five farmers respectively: \$115, \$107, \$111, \$96, and \$90. The following table gives the value of farm crops for the two counties as a whole.

TABLE XII  
VALUE OF FARM CROPS

	Year	Isanti County	Kanabec County	Per average farm
Cereals.....	1880 1910	\$169,218 521,758	\$ 3,110 96,036	\$184.76 220.95
Other seeds.....	1880 1910	 36,521	 1,891	 13.73
Hay and forage.....	1880 1910	58,448 207,647	1,782 197,218	64.55 144.80
Vegetables.....	1880 1910	17,495 518,608	1,554 112,007	20.42 225.50
Fruits and nuts.....	1880 1910	1,245 4,278	 1,754	1.33 2.16
All other crops.....	1880 1910	4,950 77,775	 38,809	5.30 41.69

Table XIII suggests the kind of farming prevalent in this country as a whole. It gives the forms of capital investment as used in the agricultural production of the two counties.

One of the main causes for the change in proportionate forms of capital is the great increase in land values which has been quite as great in this section of the country as in other parts of the

TABLE XIII  
CHANGES IN THE PROPORTION OF VARIOUS FORMS OF CAPITAL

	Year	Isanti County	Kanabec County	Average of both counties
Per cent of total value in land.....	1880 1910	73.9 55.7	70.9 62.3	72.4 59.0
Per cent of total value in buildings.....	1880 1910	0.8 27.9	1.0 22.2	0.9 25.0
Per cent of total value in implements and machinery.....	1880 1910	6.9 4.7	4.1 3.6	5.5 4.1
Per cent of total value in domestic animals, poultry, and bees.....	1880 1910	18.4 11.7	24.0 11.9	21.2 11.8

State. Many old settlers say they can not understand why lands that were bought for five dollars an acre in 1880 are now worth from twenty to twenty-five dollars. The average value of land, as given by the returns of the assessor for purposes of taxation, is about ten dollars per acre. According to the third biennial report of the Minnesota Tax Commission, 1912, the assessor's valuation is approximately one-third of the actual sales value.

The most striking part of the foregoing table is the large proportion of the total value of farm capital which is invested in buildings. There has been a marked increase in this item. It is generally stated by the leading farmers of the community that this is due to two causes. In the first place, there has always been a number of local sawmills where the farmers could get their own timber sawed into lumber much cheaper than lumber could be bought at the local lumber yard. The average cost of a thousand feet of tamarack lumber when thus cut by the farmer himself and taken to the nearest mill to be sawed, varies from twelve to fourteen dollars, "figuring in cost of cutting, hauling, sawing, and everything." Perhaps an equally valid explanation for this high proportion of investment in buildings is the fact that the average size of farms is so small and the average value of land so low that even the value of mediocre buildings necessarily forms a large proportion of the total investment.

The profitableness of the investment in implements and machinery is questionable. The opinion generally held by the newcomers in this community is that, owing to the small and irregular shapes of the fields, the investment in machinery may easily

be excessive. They call attention to the fact that in order to make an investment in a grain harvester profitable, it is necessary for a number of farmers to join together in its purchase. Many a farm has \$125 invested in a piece of machinery which is used only three or four days during the year. It would seem that the newcomers are right when they insist that it is folly to attempt to compete in the production of grains with farmers who are raising it under much more favorable conditions. These critics of the prevalent type of farming argue that what is needed is a greater proportional investment in live stock. In spite of a few isolated examples to the contrary, it would seem that their experience would justify their conclusions.

In still another matter this newer and more progressive element of the farming community takes exception to the prevalent farm practices. It is the belief of many of these that the culture of potatoes can well go hand in hand with the dairy type of farming, and they regret the present-day tendency towards a neglect of the tuber crop in favor of grains and grasses. They point to the fact that in spite of the unpopularity of the business of raising potatoes for the market, the records of the courthouses at the county seats show that "most of the mortgages are lifted during the years in which there has been a good potato crop coupled with a fair market price." These same farmers hold that the risk involved in raising potatoes could be reduced to practically nothing if farmers in these parts would plan their crop rotation somewhat systematically, and thus obviate the likelihood of the ever-recurring diseases which so often infest the soil where potatoes have been raised in succession, or with only a year or two intervening.

### FARM LABOR

One objection to the extensive production of potatoes is that it requires a considerable amount of labor in the fall of the year. Twenty-four per cent of the farmers included in this survey reported that it is hard to get help at potato-digging season. Most of the families are large, however, and no outside help is needed. Only one third of the farms had any hired men during the year preceding this survey; and two thirds of these hired only day help. The average number of days that this day help was had on these farms was only thirty-seven. Those who had hired



men by the month kept them on the average only four-and-a-half months. There were no farms which reported having had a hired man by the year. It will be seen from this that the demand for hired help is extremely seasonal, and that therefore there might be serious objection to increasing the amount of fall labor which would be necessary in a more extensive production of potatoes. This objection is being overcome by the more progressive farmers, however, by the use of modern potato machinery, such as sprayers and diggers. When such machinery is owned coöperatively by three or four farmers, there is a decided profit in its use over the use of hand labor. This sort of an arrangement also obviates the necessity of hiring help at this season, on account of the fact that help is exchanged on these coöperating farms. There were three neighborhoods in the vicinity of Braham which made such a coöperative use of potato diggers. It was the belief of most of these farmers that the average amount of \$102 which was spent for hired help by the comparatively few farmers who required extra outside help during the preceding year, could have been very materially reduced in this way.

Tenancy is an unimportant consideration in this region. Only 4.2 per cent of the farms visited were operated by tenants. The average for the two counties is about ten per cent. The principal reason for the small amount of tenancy is the cheapness of land. Most of the recent settlers came from regions where lands are much higher priced, and they find it comparatively easy to purchase the average-sized farm in this region with accumulated savings. This country is also a place where many people who have had no previous farming experience start out. They find it a favorable region in which to locate both because of the low-priced lands and also because it is peculiarly adapted to dairy and potato farming, a type of agriculture which appeals to these people as a class. Out of seventy newcomers who acquired farms in this community during the last three years, twenty-seven were of Swedish nationality; nineteen, American; fourteen, Norwegian; seven, German; one Danish; one, French; and one, Irish. Other important facts concerning these new farmers who seem to be responsible for the initiation of many changes in the present methods of farming, are shown in the following table:

These newcomers expected "to make good money" out of

TABLE XIV  
STATES FROM WHICH NEW FARMERS HAVE COME

Name of state	Num- ber	Number who were farmers	Acres purchased	Average size of farms
Minnesota . . . . .	30	12	2,676	89.2
Iowa . . . . .	10	10	1,222	122.2
North and South Dakota . . . . .	6	5	485	80.8
Nebraska . . . . .	9	7	645	71.6
Illinois . . . . .	8	2	597	74.6
Wisconsin . . . . .	2	2	160	80.0
Washington . . . . .	2	.....	120	60.0
Other states . . . . .	4	3	296	74.0
Total for three years . . . . .	71	41	6,201	81.5

their farming ventures in this new region, but, needless to say, many of them were somewhat disappointed in the returns they actually realized from their first year's operations. In this survey an attempt was made to place a fair valuation upon all the property owned by the 496 farmers who were interviewed. Special care was taken not to over-value their holdings, the standard being not what the farmer thought that he ought to have for his property, but what it actually would bring were it disposed of at a forced sale. Naturally, the property of the farms lying nearest to Braham is of somewhat greater value than that of the average of farms which are farther removed from the local market. Out of the total number of 496 farmers who had sold some of their farm products at Braham during the year 1912, there were 222 who sold all of their products there. The total value of their property, both real and personal, was estimated at \$1,-424,400. The value of the property of the 274 farmers who sold only part of their products at Braham, was but \$1,307,800. The average size of farms in both cases was practically the same. The average cash income per farm in this community for the year 1912 was \$568. When it is considered that out of this amount there must be paid not only the household expenses, but also depreciation, and wear and tear of machinery and buildings, it will be seen that the net family income would give but very poor wages to the average farmer and his family. Very few farms made enough money during the year to pay interest on capital invested, after a fair allowance was made for the labor of the various members of the family. As before indicated, how-

ever, most of the younger element of this community believe that, by careful scientific management, most of the farms can be made to pay a reasonable return for labor and capital invested.

## CHAPTER II

### HOW THE COMMUNITY SELLS ITS PRODUCTS

In the foregoing chapter it was shown how the early settlers did the little marketing they had to do, as well as the kind of farming they practiced. Owing to the lack of roads, it was necessary to market what they had to sell during the winter, when fairly good loads might be sledged through the woods on the shortest road to Rush City. Even by 1880, but little had been done to build roads that would be passable in summer. The little trading that was done by the farmers with the merchants in town was accomplished on foot or by means of row boats across Rush Lake. There is still evidence of an old channel which was dug through the several narrow stretches of land in order to make a more direct passage from the northwest side of the lake to Rush City. This channel not only permitted the direct passage of boats in open season, but it also afforded a good direct road for winter sleighing.

Gradually as the country settled up and production on the farms increased, it became necessary to improve roads thus giving the farmers more certain and more direct routes to the market town. The amount of surplus farm products which was available for market was not much, however, until the completion in 1898 of the Great Northern "cut off" through Braham. What little surplus of potatoes and wheat the farmers did have for sale before 1898 was, of necessity, hauled to Rush City. The advent of the new railroad made possible the establishment of this new local market at Braham, which is now the center of the community studied in this survey.

This new railroad not only gave the community the station of Braham, but also other nearby stations at which they might market most of their products. Of the local competitive stations, Stanchfield and Grasston are of greatest importance to the community. At the former place a flourmill was soon built and this furnished a more accessible wheat market than Rush City, which had been the nearest market up to that time. Local potato

warehouses were also built at both Stanchfield and Graston as well as Braham.

Potato warehouses were built by large wholesalers or potato-jobbing concerns of the Northwest, and they immediately furnished the farmers with a good competitive market. At present there are six competing companies with warehouses and agents at Braham. The following table shows the degree of competition that exists between these local buying agencies, as well as the relative importance of the "Triumphs," a variety of potato which is grown only for seed to be shipped South.

TABLE XV  
POTATOES SOLD AT BRAHAM, SEASON 1912-1913

	TRIUMPHS			ALL OTHER VARIETIES			GRAND TOTALS
	Bushels	Value	Average price paid	Bushels	Value	Average price paid	
Firm 1	6,700	\$5,202.57	\$.77 $\frac{1}{2}$	27,975	\$13,210.85	\$.47	208,123 bushels \$83,111.52
Firm 2	6,395	4,452.94	.69 $\frac{1}{2}$	34,440	9,445.88	.27 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Firm 3	4,458	2,712.15	.61	12,365	3,287.24	.26 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Firm 4	2,867	1,807.95	.63	30,162	8,096.36	.26 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Firm 5	7,276	4,506.50	.61 $\frac{1}{2}$	42,985	17,320.75	.40	
Firm 6	6,072	5,669.10	.93	26,428	7,399.23	.28	
Total.....	33,768	\$24,351.21	Av. per bu. \$. 71	174,355	\$58,760.31	Av. per bu. \$.32 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Per cent of total..	16.2%	29.3%		83.8%	70.7%		

The reason that the average season's price paid by the different firms varies so greatly, is that they did not all buy equally heavily at the same season of the year. Some firms bought but little when prices were high. At any given time all firms paid practically the same price if they were in the market for potatoes.

Within recent years some of the farmers in the vicinity of Braham have attempted to market their potatoes through their own local coöperative organization. A local warehouse was built, but it seems that the manager was inexperienced, and accordingly the methods of doing business were rather slipshod; and this, combined with the unfair competition of the old established jobbing concerns, made a loss inevitable. It is maintained by the adherents of this defunct organization that the large wholesalers made it a special point to sell their product at a considerable dis-

count in the particular market to which the local farmers' organization happened to send its consignment. Owing to the small amount of business that the independent farmers' company had, it was, of course, unable to establish very broad market connections. That this charge of the farmers is pretty well founded on facts, seems to be substantiated by the statement of one of the salesmen of the largest potato-jobbing concerns of the Northwest. According to this statement, it is a comparatively easy matter for an old established concern, with widely ramifying marketing connections, to undersell any small independent concern in the particular market that the latter may happen to enter. The great volume of business done by the old established companies in itself enables them to pay better prices to farmers locally if they desire to do so. It is said that the jobbing houses aim to handle their potatoes at a margin of twenty dollars per car, containing 500 bushels. They do not need to handle them at such a big margin, however, since it is maintained that one of the companies, owing to its unusually large volume of business, made a very satisfactory profit on a gross margin of only \$15 dollars per car. A glance at Table XV shows that the local shipping agency which did the largest amount of business during the year 1912 could have realized little more than local operating expenses, if it had been compelled to handle its potatoes at the above mentioned margin. It is evident that an independent local farmers' company would find it very hard to compete with the larger wholesalers in the potato business.

Owing to the great difference between farm and city prices of potatoes, and the lack of understanding on the part of farmers as to the exact items of expense that go to make up this difference between producer's and consumer's prices, the middlemen, who are undertaking the distribution of potatoes, are exposed to much unfavorable criticism. It is a general belief among the farmers that practically all of these concerns make large profits on their business. In this community no other class of business men were subject to such adverse sentiment. The main reason for this is, of course, that farmers do not understand the various functions of the middleman. Very few realize that, in order to permit as much as sixty-two per cent of the year's crop to be marketed at the time the tubers are dug (as was the case in this community, in the year 1912), it is not only necessary for the wholesaler to



provide a place of storage for this great supply which is suddenly dumped upon the market, but it also requires a large amount of capital to provide this ready market at all seasons of the year, to say nothing of the great risks of deterioration and price fluctuation involved.

The potato dealers further complain that farmers do not give enough attention to the quality of the product they wish to market. Not only is there no effort made to prevent infectious diseases during the growing season, but the tubers when brought to market are not sorted, and lack uniformity of size and quality. Frequently they vary greatly as to size, and are scabbed and affected with rot. This neglect of the farmers compels the dealer himself to grade and assort the potatoes before they are sacked and loaded into cars to be shipped to their final destinations. If the farmers would take the trouble to run their potatoes over a one-and-three-quarter-inch screen, and if the dealer could be further assured that all the tubers were entirely free from scabs and other infectious diseases, higher prices could be paid to the farmers. Some of the leading jobbing concerns have tried to induce the farmers to organize local growers' associations which would insure a standard product of good marketable qualities. During the past few years, the farmers themselves have begun to realize the importance of this more and more, and with the organization of a farmers' club in this vicinity, it seems likely that before long the leading farmers will have associated themselves into some organization which will attempt to benefit by coöperative effort along this line. The farmers maintain, however, that it is not only necessary to have this local producers' organization, but, in order to gain the full benefit of such efforts, it is desirable to have a federation of other similar organizations in order to cut down overhead inspection and advertising expenses. The newly awakened interest along coöperative lines seems to insure concerted action in this respect in the near future.

Although the starch factories are now considered of minor importance as a market place for potatoes, the potato-growing industry was first begun in this region as a result of the market offered by such factories. A certain Mr. Hall first built these factories in different parts of Chisago and Isanti counties. He contracted with a sufficient number of farmers to furnish him a certain number of acres of potatoes at a definitely fixed price.

Some of these earlier private ventures of Mr. Hall's failed, largely as a result of the chicanery of the farmers, it is maintained. "Whenever the price rose above that stipulated in the contract, the farmer usually maintained that his yield was only fifty bushels or even less; when, the next year, prices were lower than that called for in the contract, the farmer would buy half of his neighbor's crop, and deliver them as his own, maintaining that his potatoes had yielded as high as 300 bushels per acre." As a result of this, it is said, Mr. Hall quit the starch business to undertake the development of one of the largest wholesale potato businesses in the country. Since then the farmers themselves have come to build starch factories of their own, in order to insure against too great a loss in seasons when the prices of tubers are inordinately low. These factories are organized as stock corporations, rather than coöperative associations and sometimes pay large dividends.

One of these factories is located at Grasston. This factory usually operates every spring. The farmers, who have taken the trouble to grade their potatoes, usually haul the culls to the factory, since the size and condition of the tubers make but little difference when they are used in the production of starch. The customary price paid at the factory is about twenty-five cents per bushel. Farmers maintain that at this price they can hardly afford to grow potatoes. This is largely a matter of guess-work on their part, but careful records of the cost of production made by the Department of Agriculture indicate that twenty-five cents is the approximate cost of producing a bushel of potatoes under average farm conditions. Thus, while these starch factories do not usually pay enough to make it worth while for farmers to produce potatoes for this purpose, they nevertheless prevent great loss to farmers in seasons of a general over-supply. Various other stations in this territory have their local starch factories, the greater part of the shares of which are owned by the farmers themselves.

#### THE MARKETING OF DAIRY PRODUCTS

Dairying was of but little importance in this community until nearly the beginning of the present century. A report of the Braham Creamery Company, in 1899, shows that during that year there were received at the creamery the comparatively small

amount of 754,000 pounds of milk; and a total of 30,012 pounds of butter was made, for which the sum of \$5764 was received. This was the result of its operations in the third year of its existence. There were not enough dairy cows in this community, however, to make the operation of this creamery a profitable undertaking. The farmers' coöperative organization, therefore, went out of existence for a number of years. Gradually, however, the dairy industry grew and there are to-day, within the bounds of this community, five active creamery organizations which are all engaged in the manufacture of butter. Besides these local farmers' companies, there are two independent outside concerns, so-called centralizers, located in Duluth and Superior, which are buying both milk and cream from farmers. The amount of milk and cream purchased, and the price paid by these centralizers, is shown by the two following tables (XVI and XVII). One of these concerns has a local creamery about two-and-a-half miles from Braham where the farmers bring the milk, part of which is separated and paid for on the basis of its butter-fat content, the greater part of which, however, is cooled and kept until evening when their milk agent hauls both the cream and milk to the Braham station whence it is taken to Duluth by the night train. Many of the farmers haul their milk directly to Braham, however, where it is sent by express with the rest of the company's shipment. Usually two or three farmers take turns

TABLE XVI  
CREAM BOUGHT BY CENTRALIZERS

Month	Butter-fat pounds	Paid to farmers
January .....	2,118.78	\$ 935.87
February .....	2,293.37	834.80
March .....	2,674.45	965.91
April .....	2,854.37	1,071.38
May .....	4,458.47	1,582.28
June .....	4,874.42	1,582.17
July .....	4,692.03	1,508.54
August .....	4,308.33	1,377.65
September .....	4,439.81	1,546.37
October .....	3,798.33	1,392.95
November .....	3,102.02	1,236.01
December .....	2,531.03	1,140.30
	42,145.41	\$15,173.63

TABLE XVII  
MILK BOUGHT BY DULUTH AND SUPERIOR MILK COMPANIES

Month	Gallons	Paid to farmers
January .....	3,151	\$ 409.63
February .....	3,546	460.98
March .....	3,783	491.79
April .....	4,117	494.04
May .....	5,550	555.00
June .....	6,069	606.90
July .....	5,101	561.11
August .....	3,651	419.86
September .....	3,326	415.75
October .....	2,894	361.75
November .....	2,350	317.25
December .....	2,810	379.35
	46,348	\$5,473.41

in hauling their milk which must always be brought to the station in the cool of the evening.

While it is maintained by some of the members of the farmers' local creameries that these centralizing companies do, in some instances, pay higher prices at competitive points than at non-competitive points, this practice is no longer a very serious menace to the successful operation of the farmers' coöperative creameries, mainly because of the very strict enforcement of the anti-discrimination law by the State Dairy and Food Commission. Practically all of the farmers' creameries are now in a thriving condition and their patrons are satisfied with the success of their business. The following Table XVIII is a record of three co-operative farmers' creameries in this community.

TABLE XVIII  
A YEAR'S RECORD FOR THREE FARMERS' CREAMERY ORGANIZATIONS

	Braham	Greeley	Rush Point	Average for the three
Pounds milk received.....	910,733	3,307,322	1,826,994	2,015,016
Average test of milk.....	3.77%	3.73%	3.73%	3.74%
Pounds of butter-fat from milk..	34,332.3	123,359	68,218	75,303
Pounds of butter-fat from cream..	94,151.3	54,743	24,032	57,642
Total pounds of butter made....	152,899	213,264	111,526 $\frac{3}{4}$	159,229
Butter sold on account to patrons, pounds.....	2,756	11,556	10,511 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,274
Butter retailed at creamery, lbs..	2,874	150.1	527 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,183
Cash paid farmers.....	\$36,466	\$55,580	\$26,393	\$39,479
Running expenses.....	\$4,629	\$3,783	\$2,441	\$3,617
Total value of all products.....	\$42,909	\$59,317	\$32,833	\$45,019
Per cent of expenses to total value of business.....	10.8%	6.4%	7.4%	8.2%

There is a considerable variation in the running expenses of these different organizations, due, perhaps, mainly to the difference in cooperative spirit among the farmers themselves. To illustrate, the farmers of Greeley donate all of the work necessary to provide fuel, and to haul the butter to the nearest railroad station at Rock Creek. In addition to this, they also conscientiously adhere to all regulations of their butter-maker as to the quality of cream that is acceptable, thus enabling him to produce the highest grade of butter month after month. This kind of cooperative spirit gives them the highest market price for their products, and the work that is donated helps to keep down operating expenses.

#### MARKETING OF PRODUCTS OF MINOR IMPORTANCE

As we have seen in the previous chapter but little live stock is raised for the market. As a result of this there has been but little local competition in the buying of hogs and cattle. During the year 1912 only one farmer had enough live stock to enable him to ship a carload himself. There is only one local buyer at Braham. Occasionally some outside party goes into the community and buys up a carload or two. Although their stock is usually of poorer grades, the prices on the whole have been satisfactory during the past few years. In spite of this fact, however, there were those who believed that it would pay the community to organize a cooperative live stock shipping association. This organization was effected a few months ago.

Most of the small amount of grain that is marketed by this community is handled by one of the local feed houses of Braham, except that wheat is sold principally at Rush City or at the Stanchfield mill.

A small amount of wood is still being sold from this community. Most of it is used as fuel in nearby towns. There is, however, a very satisfactory market in the Twin Cities for good bass wood which is used to make excelsior. During the winter, this wood is cut and hauled into town, where the local buyers usually let it stand for several months until it is dried out, in order to reduce freight charges.

The market for cucumbers was described in the previous chapter. Owing to the reluctance with which farmers produce this crop, the product of the pickling plant at Braham has been

considerably reduced during the last year or two. The supply furnished by the farmers is decreasing, not so much because prices are not satisfactory, as that there is a great dislike on the part of most farmers to do the hard work during the hot days of the year when the crop must be picked.

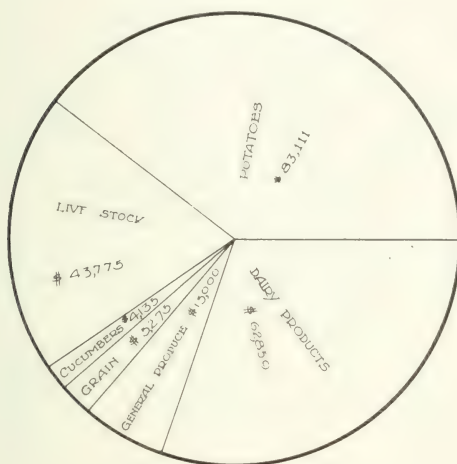


Diagram 1. Showing value and relative importance of various farm products which were marketed at Braham during the year 1912.

The comparatively few eggs that are produced are all marketed at the local stores where they are traded out for such groceries and dry goods as are needed in the home. This method of marketing is not very satisfactory, either to the merchant or to the farmer. It is adhered to by both, however, first because the farmer has no other means of disposing of his limited supply, and second, because the local retailer considers this egg trade as a sort of insurance against greater competition on the part of mail-order houses. The farmer, who brings eggs into the store, usually runs an account there. This open account is handy for him and he is not very likely to do any considerable amount of his business with a catalog house as long as he can get what he wants at the local store. A few vegetables and a considerable



amount of honey are handled in the same way by the local merchant. Very little, if any, profit is made directly by the merchant from the sale of these products.

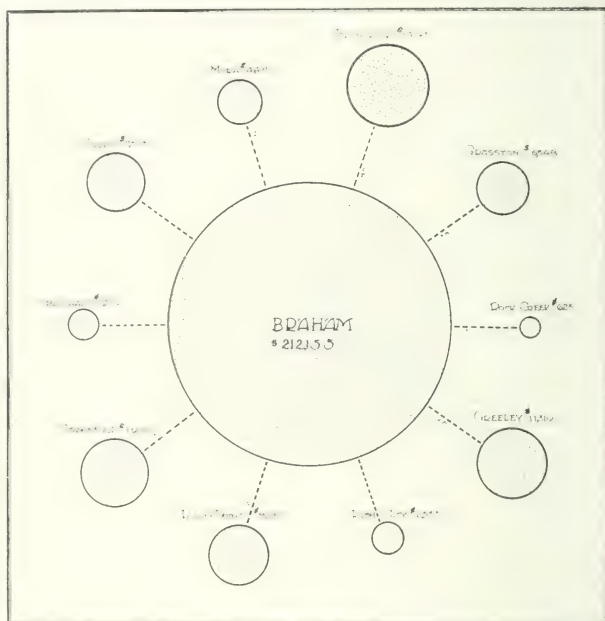


Diagram 2. Showing value of farm products marketed at the different local selling points. (The figures on connecting lines show number of farmers who divided their sales between Braham and its surrounding competitive marketing points. The extreme elasticity of market boundaries is very noticeable.)

The following Table XIX, taken from the records of the local freight office at Braham, shows the varying amounts of different commodities shipped out by freight during the different months of the year. A study of the table shows to some extent the services rendered by the middleman in handling this uneven supply.

TABLE XIX

Kind of Commodity	Tons of Freight Forwarded Each Month During 1912												
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Butter, eggs, cheese, and poultry	3	2½	5	6	11½	10½	12	8½	7½	7½	5	5	71¾
Cement, plaster, lime, salt, etc.						1							1
Emigrants' movables and household goods			40	40	10	10		5¼	10	10	10	10	130
Fruits and vegetables (except potatoes, C. L.)			5¼	4½	1½	4½		1¼	1½	27		5	55
Flour, bran, mill stuffs, oatmeal, etc.											6	2½	4½
Furniture (except emigrants' movables, etc.)	3	10											16½
Groceries, canned goods, etc.											2¼	½	5½
Hides, pelts, and tallow	1	1½	2½	¼	½	¾	2½	½	1½	1½	1	2½	14½
Hay, straw, and flax tow	36	117	102½	12	92					102	21		485½
Machinery (except agricultural implements), casting, etc.						83	36		70				83
Pulpwood							43	18	55½	18½			106
Pickles					18			24½					135
Sand and stone													42½
Wool						12			17				29
Miscellaneous	13¼	11½	9	9	12	23¼	12			12½	12	6	137½
CARLOADS OF FREIGHT FORWARDED EACH MONTH DURING 1912													
Wheat			1	1	1	1	1			1		1	5
Grain (except wheat, corn and flax)											1		3
Cattle		1	2	1	1	4	2	4	4	5	4	2	31
Lumber and other forest products		2											2
Potatoes	32	65	38	3	6	2			12	47	27	31	263
Wood for fuel			3							5		3	11

## COMPETITIVE MARKETING POINTS

The following list gives the names of the different local points at which the farm products of 496 farmers of this community (see maps in Introduction), were marketed during the year 1912, the value, and also the number of farmers who furnished the same

*Marketed Outside of Braham*

	Number of Farmers	Value of Products
Brunswick .....	89	\$14,143.00
Grasston .....	38	6,548.00
Mora .....	32	4,482.00
Ogilvie .....	29	7,595.00
Springvale .....	11	2,222.00
Stanchfield .....	50	11,269.00
Rush City .....	17	2,555.00
Rock Creek .....	3	625.00
Greeley .....	28	11,319.00
Rush Point .....	21	8,969.00

Total marketed outside of Braham	\$69,727.00
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*Marketed at Braham*

Creamery .....	\$42,909.00
Potatoes .....	83,111.00
Cucumbers .....	4,135.00
Milk .....	19,950.00
Grain .....	5,275.00
Live stock .....	43,775.00
General produce, eggs, poultry, and honey .....	13,000.00

Total marketed at Braham (493 farmers)	\$212,155.00
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Grand total of products marketed from community .....	\$281,882.00
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No detailed account can be given of the various commodities which make up the total for the points outside of Braham for the reason that the records of the dealers at those points were not accessible. It can be stated, however, that the products marketed at Brunswick, Springvale, Greeley, and Rush Point, none of which are situated on the railroad, consist entirely of dairy products, there being a local creamery at each one of these points

as well as a general merchandise store which of course takes some eggs in trade. No figures are shown in this table concerning the value of the products collected at other small country stores, which are merely collecting stations to which the farmers may bring their cream during the day, and from which it is hauled to the nearest creamery located at one of the above mentioned marketing points. The amount of cream and milk gathered at the local centralizing station at Danewood is credited to Braham because it is shipped from that point. The country points named in the above table market their butter at other stations than Braham.

Except when there is a substantial difference in prices, the shipping point to which a farmer hauls his products depends largely on the condition of the roads. Nothing definite can be said, however, on this point because road conditions vary at different times of the year. What may be the best road in the winter months is oftentimes the poorest during the summer months. Most of the potatoes are marketed either in the fall of the year when roads are usually pretty good, or else during the winter months when the condition of the road bed is of but little importance. It can hardly be said that any market has a decided advantage over another in this regard, during all seasons of the year. The average distance for those who haul all of their products to Braham is but 3.3 miles, whereas the average distance to market for those who market elsewhere than Braham is four miles. The average size of load hauled when marketing potatoes, is 1.53 tons. Most of the farmer's product is marketed in a very condensed form (such as milk or cream) and the condition of the roads is therefore considered of but small importance by the average farmer, who hauls his cream to town every other day, or coöperates with one or two neighbors, and thus reduces the cost of transportation to a very negligible item.

Throughout this chapter, attention has been called to various coöperative endeavors on the part of the farmers. It is interesting to note that, in spite of the many adverse criticisms of farmers' coöperative enterprises, the majority of farmers are of the opinion that much can be gained through coöperative effort. Of the total number of 496 farmers interviewed on this topic, exactly seventy-four per cent of them expressed full faith and confidence in the farmers' coöperative movement, stating that they would



A view of the Greeley creamery, school house, and general merchandise store.

be willing to support further coöperative movements with money and moral support. They further stated that those farmers who seemed to express doubt concerning the efficacy of farmers' coöperation, would get in line on almost any movement as soon as it began to show results.



Farmers marketing potatoes at Braham. By providing storage on the farm, heavy hauling can be done in winter when roads are good and there is but little to do on the farm.

## CHAPTER III

### HOW THE COMMUNITY BUYS GOODS

#### EARLY STORE BUSINESS

As we have seen in the foregoing chapters, the early settlers had little or no money, and the few things they had to sell at the end of the season's work could be exchanged for but a few things, the bare necessities of life. It has been shown how the few local retailers at Rush City helped to keep the early settlers living by letting them have, on credit, the little flour or clothing they needed. Several old settlers still gratefully remember certain merchants, who not only sold them necessary goods on credit, but also "helped them out of the hole" during the first years when the products of the year's work did not yield enough to pay taxes. One old man's testimony was not so favorable to these "dealers," however, for he declared that "they skinned us going and coming." When wood was brought to town there was no cash market for it. The only thing for the farmer to do was to sell it to the storekeeper for "store pay." Naturally enough the storekeeper "played safe," and as a result the farmer perhaps got much less for his wood than would have been the case, could he have sold more directly to a consuming market. In the prices charged for the goods given in exchange, naturally enough too, the storekeeper got a big margin for interest charges on credit granted as well as the general margin for trade profit. This sort of wholesale farm produce business, combined with the credit broker and retail business, appears to have been "very lucrative to those who were able to make it go." Some never got fairly started before they failed, but many of them became wealthy at the business.

The men who worked for the lumbering companies in the winter were paid in the somewhat depreciated United States notes or "Shin Plasters," as they were euphoniously denominated by the "lumber jacks." The business of the farming community



was not firmly established upon the basis of a money economy until somewhat after 1880. Some old farmers stated that the townspeople kept money out as long as possible, because as farmers got money in exchange for their produce, their market for purchasing goods from without the community became wider. With money they could buy in the cheapest market. One of them thought that the present opposition of local merchants to the catalog-house business is analogous to this earlier "fight of vested interests for a home market."

Stores situated at points away from the railway were almost always located so as to be easily accessible to some railway station by an "all water route." The reason for this is apparent when it is remembered that the country was practically impassable for a loaded wagon during these early years. It was cheaper to freight by water as much as practicable. Almost all of these country stores were postal stations until the advent of the rural free delivery in recent years.

#### BRAHAM'S BUSINESS

In the foregoing chapter it was shown how Braham, the local



Main business street of Braham.

market which was taken as the center of this community in this survey, was started; and the importance of the functioning of its

various selling agencies was also described in detail. Let us now examine the buying agencies which the community supports, with special attention to the business done by the Braham merchants.

There are in Braham nine stores, whose business may be classified as follows: three general merchandise; two hardware, implements, and lumber; one furniture and hardware; one drug store; one candies and refreshments; one harness shop. Besides these stores there are the following business and manufacturing concerns: two banks, a carding and spinning woolen mill, a tombstone or monument manufacturing shop, two blacksmith shops, a meat shop, a photograph gallery, a newspaper and job-printing office, a land agency, a livery barn, a garage and repair shop, two barber shops, and the ice business conducted by the drayman. To give a complete enumeration of all business interests, including professional services, it is necessary to state that there is one dentist's and one doctor's office. The doctor has also a private hospital in town. His practice has grown so that he now has a regular assistant and one or more trained nurses.



Street view of Braham, showing machine and repair shops.

The following list gives a rather general classification of the different expenditures of the community as shown by the business done at Braham in 1912:

Kind of goods or services sold	Value of goods or services
General merchandise .....	\$97,850
Flour and feed.....	11,670
Furniture, hardware, and implements.....	63,585
Lumber and other building material.....	29,710
Harness and repair shop.....	7,737
Lunches, refreshments, and pool.....	7,686
Meats and sausages.....	8,475*
Photographs and film developing.....	1,100*
Hotel and livery service.....	7,600*
Tonsorial service .....	1,800*
Dental service .....	2,700*
Drugs and doctor's services.....	14,500*
Total .....	\$254,413



Diagram 3. Showing relative importance of principal classes of retail business and professional services of the village.

Some of these groupings of commodities are hardly logical, but it was necessary to group items in such a way as to avoid disclosing the records of single private business concerns. All

\* Figures are only approximate.

figures were obtained from the books of the business firms, except those indicated with a star. In those cases it was impossible to get all of the book records, and therefore the available records were supplemented with data procured from those who paid for the goods or services in question. The writer admits that these particular figures are perhaps not very accurate, but they are the best available. It should also be remembered in connection with this, that all the figures except those starred, give only the business done at Braham. The community expended much money at "country stores" and in other towns, as well as through mail orders. No detailed analysis of that business could be made in the time available. The writer is of the opinion, however, that the foregoing table is fairly representative of the relative expenditures of the community. The following table shows how purchases vary according to the season of the year:

TABLE XX

## SEASONAL VARIATIONS IN RETAIL BUSINESS

	PER CENT OF TOTAL YEAR'S BUSINESS											
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
General merchandise.....	6.3	5.7	6.7	7.0	8.7	8.4	8.3	7.5	8.5	11.2	10.9	10.8
Flour and feed.....	13.9	4.3	5.4	6.9	27.1	5.0	11.5	4.0	2.8	3.2	2.6	12.7
Furniture, hardware and implements.....	4.2	2.0	4.0	11.1	9.6	14.1	13.2	8.3	9.3	9.4	8.3	6.4
Lumber and other building material.....	3.0	3.3	4.1	6.3	4.7	10.7	5.5	13.7	16.7	11.2	13.2	7.6
Harness and repair shops.....	7.4	5.9	5.7	10.5	7.5	14.9	7.9	7.0	9.3	6.9	11.8	5.2
Pool, confectionery and lunches.....	5.5	5.7	5.9	6.3	7.6	12.0	10.5	10.8	10.0	9.0	7.7	9.0
Livery business.....	7.5	7.1	8.3	8.0	9.5	7.6	6.8	9.9	9.0	11.4	9.9	5.0
Average of all classes of business.....	6.8	4.7	5.9	8.0	10.7	10.4	9.1	8.9	9.3	8.9	9.2	8.1

It is noteworthy that the demand for certain goods varies by season. In order to keep operating expenses at a minimum it becomes necessary for country retailers to handle a variety of commodities, the seasonal demand for which varies so, that labor can at all times be kept profitably at work. Most of the country storekeepers do this pretty well. The general merchandise stores usually have to hire one extra clerk during the month of December, and implement dealers sometimes have to get an extra man "to set up" machinery when there is an unusually big demand for it. It is the ambition of many farmers' sons and daughters to become clerks and as a result it is easy to hire extra help in the



Not only are the stores neat and attractive but the streets are kept clean by having team sheds in the rear of each place of business.

store when necessary. The average salary of all regular clerks in Braham was fifty-two dollars per month. This average hardly represents what most of the clerks get, however, because of the relatively high salary of seventy-five dollars a month which is paid to farm-implement experts. Perhaps the most common salary for a good general merchandise clerk is forty-five dollars a month.

The following table shows in detail the different commodities shipped into Braham during the year 1912. It is a fair index of the quantitative consumptive demands for various commodities by months.





All of the general merchandise stores still gladly accept in trade eggs, vegetables, home-made butter, and honey. The stores at Braham received during the year approximately \$11,000 worth of eggs, \$1,000 worth of honey, and \$1,000 worth of butter. As already explained in the previous chapter, the merchants do not generally calculate to make any profit directly from the sale of this unstandardized, poorly-graded, produce, but they handle it as the most effective way of advertising. It serves to open book accounts with their customers, for it often happens that the farmer will not "trade out" the full value of the eggs he has brought in that day. The balance is then credited to his account. The next time he comes to town he may buy more than his favorable balance amounts to; and then the store lets him have the goods he wants on credit. These credit sales form a very considerable amount of the store's business. The following figures give the per cent of total sales that were credit sales in a representative general merchandise store:

Month	Per cent of total business
January .....	43.0%
February .....	39.7%
March .....	41.8%
April .....	37.8%
May .....	43.1%
June .....	36.0%
July .....	50.6%
August .....	41.5%
September .....	43.8%
October .....	37.6%
November .....	49.8%
December .....	39.5%

Fully one half of the farmers avail themselves of this convenient form of credit. They usually settle the balance of their accounts at the end of each month, when they get their cream checks from the creamery. In this way the credit that the store extends is not a very expensive item. No store reported any loss from "bad accounts." A firm with an approximate yearly business of \$50,000 had "never lost more than twenty-five dollars in that way." And it is said that "there is nothing that will insure against catalog-house competition as these book accounts."

The number of farmers who buy their furniture and machin-

ery on account is larger than that shown by the foregoing figures. Fully two thirds of all such sales are made on account. These accounts usually run for three months. If not paid then, a note is usually required, with interest at seven or eight per cent. Farmers who pay spot cash can usually buy machinery somewhat cheaper, however, than those who buy on account. It is maintained by some that the difference in cash and credit prices in many cases amounts to as much as fifteen or twenty per cent of the cash price. Implement dealers declare, however, that such cases are rare exceptions.

The regular advertising expenses of local retailers are very low. Only one store paid out as much as seventy-five dollars during the year for this purpose. Most of this sum was spent for cheap calendars which were distributed among customers at Christmas time. The small "ads" in the local weekly paper, and a few handbills to announce special sales or "market days" constituted only a small item of expense.

All of the Braham stores did their business at an expense varying from eleven to fifteen per cent of gross sales. Only one had the maximum expense. The rest did their business on the basis of eleven or twelve per cent. The operating expenses of a representative general merchandise store were distributed as follows:

Manager's salary .....	30%
Clerk's salary .....	33%
Rent or interest on real estate.....	13%
Miscellaneous .....	24%

The profits of all these stores were very moderate. In some cases only a fair interest on capital invested was realized, and in no case did the net profits amount to more than fifteen per cent of the capital invested. It should be stated, however, that there is no uniform system of accounting in practice among these stores, and the accounts in some instances were in such a condition that it was impossible to determine exactly what the operating expenses and net profits were. Some managers modestly allowed themselves a salary of only \$600 a year, while others valued their services at \$1,500. This variation in salary allowances makes it impossible to find a uniform basis on which to reckon net profits.

The bigger stores or the older firms appeared to have the better kept accounts. Some of the smaller concerns had no cost accounting system of any kind, personal expenses being mixed up with those of the business. In such cases the only way that the proprietor knew anything about the profitableness of his activities, was by the rise and fall of his bank account. No business concern in this town attempted to keep accounts in such a way as to show the exact status of each distinct "line of goods" that it handled. It was the opinion of all the managers, that the comparatively small volume of business done in each "line" (such as footwear, groceries, dry goods, etc.) made it possible for them to estimate with a fair degree of accuracy the profitableness with which it was handled by the store. Without attempting to gainsay this expert testimony, it might be said that this is similar to the excuse offered by the average farmer when he is reprimanded for not keeping cost accounts. One farmer stated that, "perhaps the farmer's business is more complex and therefore less easily managed by rule of thumb methods; but 'townspeople' would be the last to admit this."

The following data concerning the banking business at Braham, not only shows the increasing prosperity of the community, but it also shows some of the business habits of the people in both the village and the country. Deposits have steadily increased from \$52,000 in 1905 to \$190,000 in 1912. Of this amount \$129,000 were time deposits belonging to 225 depositors. This would indicate that about one half of the farmers of this community have some savings deposits. One hundred and sixty farmers have checking accounts at the bank, the average "turn-over" of which is about eight times a year. The average "turn-over" of local merchants is about forty per year. On the average the checking business of the entire community amounts to about \$2,000 per day. Approximately one third of this is done by farmers, including the business of the Braham Farmers' Co-operative Creamery.

#### OTHER COMPETITIVE BUSINESS CENTERS

A very considerable part of the business of the farmers living on the border of this community is naturally divided between Braham and some other nearby competitive business centers. Of

these Rush City, Grasston, Mora, Ogilvie and Stanchfield are railway stations, and they are therefore also important local selling points, as was shown in the previous chapter. The following table shows the relative importance of the three most important of these places, judged from the standpoint of business transacted there by farmers of this community. The average distances given are based only on those farms from which a part of the year's product was sold at Braham.

TABLE XXII  
COMPETITION BETWEEN BRAHAM AND NEARBY TOWNS

Name of local station	Number of farmers	Average distance to local station, miles	Average distance to Braham, miles	Per cent of total purchases made at Braham
Grasston.....	38	4.9	7.5	24.5
Mora.....	39	7.2	10.0	19.0
Stanchfield.....	42	3.2	5.1	60.0

A glance at the community map on page 10 gives the location of all the country stores under the following names: Day, Coin, Congers, Maple Ridge, Andre, Brunswick, Greeley, and Rush Point. The business done at these stores during the year varies from \$8,500 at Andre to \$30,000 at Rush Point. The following table shows the relative amounts purchased at three typical inland stores.

TABLE XXIII  
COMPETITION BETWEEN BRAHAM AND TYPICAL COUNTRY STORES

Name of store	Number of farmers buying at country store	Average miles to local store	Average miles to Braham	Estimated per cent of total purchases made at local store
Andre.....	25	2.3	5.3	30
Rush Point.....	10	3.5	6.0	43
Brunswick.....	18	4.2	7.9	50

It should be kept in mind in connection with the last two tables that the per cent of total purchases made at these local stores is figured on the basis of an estimate from each farmer

who traded at these places. While they can not be taken as accurate, they are nevertheless of some value.

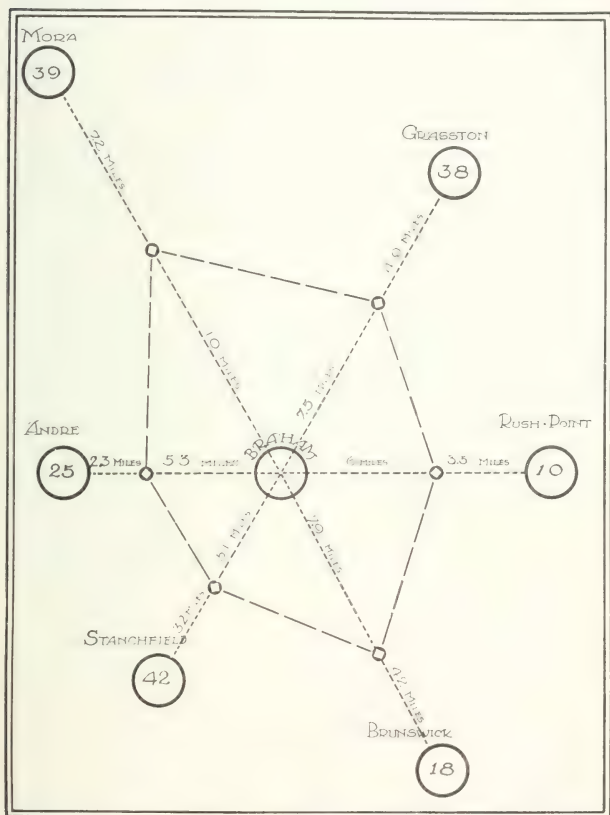


Diagram 4. Representing varying extent of Braham's trade territory with reference to competitive points. (Figures within circles show number of farmers who buy only part of their supplies at Braham.)

It will be seen that the amount of goods sold by these inland country stores is very considerable. The per cent of the total



year's purchases of the farmers who deal with these stores increases with the size and variety of stock carried by the store. To illustrate, the average value of stock at Andre is about \$2,000, whereas at the other two points the value of stock averages about \$6,000 the year round. The primary reason for the greater volume of business at Brunswick and Rush Point, however, is the fact that creameries and blacksmith shops are located at these places. All of the inland stores which are not located at creameries serve as cream collecting stations, and in that way they get most of their business. They all deal principally in groceries and clothing, and because it is so convenient for the farmers to obtain these supplies at the same time they take in their cream, they feel that these stores render the community a very important service. Farmers seem to feel more kindly towards their local country storekeeper than they do towards the town merchant. Because the former lives right in their midst as one of them, they get thoroughly acquainted and do not begrudge him the little money he makes. A few farmers expressed the opinion that such a store when thus operated at the lowest possible cost was really a coöperative concern of the community, even if it was not run by a formal organization in which all members of the community are legal shareholders.

### CATALOG HOUSE BUSINESS

According to answers received from the farmers themselves, sixty-three per cent of the families in the country purchased something from catalog houses. The amount purchased by these during the year was an average of about forty-two dollars per family. It is the opinion of most local merchants that these purchases amount to much more than this. The writer believes, however, that practically all of the farmers told the truth and that the figures given on this matter are fairly reliable.

Perhaps the main reason for this prevalence of the catalog house business is the fact that farmers find it very convenient to order many goods by mail, especially when they live at a distance from a good-sized town. The amount ordered from catalog houses increased very appreciably with the distance farmers live from Braham. The figures show that catalog house business varies directly as the distance, and inversely as the number of

times farmers go to a town where good selections of goods are kept. Farmers often expressed themselves as appreciative of the great variety of goods which might be selected from catalogs at leisure during the long evenings when there is nothing else to do. When notice comes that the goods have arrived, someone drives to town to get them, at the same time buying in town a supply of such things as they can buy more satisfactorily from the local merchant. Most of them defend this course of action by the argument that "business is business; let the local storekeeper handle only those things that he can handle more cheaply than the mail order houses."

### USE OF PARCEL POST

The parcel post had been used by fifty-seven per cent of the farmers who had received packages an average of four times during the year. About one half of these parcels came from catalog houses. Local merchants did not often make use of this service, except that once in a while some housekeeper ordered a pound of coffee or some sugar to be sent with the rural carrier in the morning. Only thirty-five per cent of the farmers had used the parcel post to send anything from the farm. In most instances it was used by women to send some fancy work or some other present to relatives in a distant city. The parcel post had been in existence only six months when this information was collected.

### PEDDLERS' BUSINESS

The only regular peddlers' business of this community is that done by patent medicine companies. Three different companies send their agents through this territory. They all sell spices and extracts besides various kinds of toilet articles and patent medicines. Housekeepers testify that these concerns handle "especially pure and good extracts and spices." The average amount purchased from these peddlers by those who deal with them was \$4.30 per year.

### CARDING AND SPINNING MILL

A carding and spinning mill located at Braham, runs about five months of the year doing a custom business of carding and spinning wool which is brought in by local farmers. As was

shown in Chapter I, the farmers of this community have only a few sheep. They usually bring the little fleece they get to this mill, and have it cleaned and carded to be used for making light but warm quilts; or they may have it spun to be used by the grandmothers for knitting stockings and mittens. Most of the American-born women no longer do this, however. They prefer to buy their woolen goods ready made. The mill charges ten cents a pound for cleaning and carding the wool. If it is also spun and twisted it costs twenty-five cents a pound. During the year the mill bought from farmers 600 pounds of wool for which they paid from sixteen to twenty cents per pound. This was manufactured into yarn and sold at eighty cents a pound. The mill is equipped with modern machinery, and the manager is trying to get some knitting mills to buy his product so that he may run the year round. So far he has been unsuccessful in this, however, and has been obliged to sell his little surplus stock to local stores.

#### FARMERS' COÖPERATIVE ACTIVITIES

Although the attempt of the farmers to manage a potato warehouse of their own failed, a few of the original members of that organization formed what is called the Rice Lake Farmers' Club. This organization is mainly for educational and social purposes, but it also acts as an agency for the coöperative purchase of supplies. About a thousand dollars worth of goods, mostly groceries, are bought by it to be distributed among its members. Orders amounting to about \$200 are sent in from time to time to a regular wholesale house. The members of the club believe that they get their goods at wholesale prices. They admit, however, that there is but little saved by each family getting the goods in this way. "The increased intelligence of market conditions and the growing sentiment of social solidarity alone, make it well worth while for the neighborhood to coöperate in this way"; such appears to be the opinion of the members of this club.

Another unique method by which some farmers purchase hardware and machinery, is to order it through a country blacksmith, who deals directly with regular wholesale houses in the purchase of carload lots of nails or wire, and acts as agent for various farm machinery companies. By ordering only goods

which his farmer patrons have already agreed to take, he is able to sell some things much cheaper than the regular town retailer. His sales amount to about \$7,000 or \$8,000 a year. Naturally enough, this man enjoys the enviable good will of his neighbors. "Day after day he is hard at work in his repair shop; and for his trouble in supplying his patrons with such things as they order, he takes only the wage of an ordinary workman."

There are in this community three farmers' coöperative telephone companies. Membership in these organizations varies from twenty-eight to one hundred and thirteen, and it is on a thoroughly democratic basis. Officers of these companies give their services gratis, receiving only pay for actual expenses in-



The Coin Country Store. Like other country stores where there are no creameries, this store is a convenient cream depot for nearby farmers.

curred in connection with the work of the company. The clerk usually gets only ten dollars a year. The expenses of these companies vary from \$200 to \$340; the larger the membership the less per capita cost. The chief trouble of these companies is to get a competent "trouble man" at the small pay they can afford to offer. All of these companies are "doing well and almost everybody is well satisfied."

The Nessel Mutual Fire Insurance Company is spoken of with highest regard by practically all farmers. It has a total membership of 2150. Ninety per cent of the farmers of this community belong to it. Its policies in force amount to over

\$3,000,000. The average rate of assessment for the last five years has been less than .2 of one per cent. The reason for this good record is that the secretary receives only \$200 a year for writing policies and all other necessary work, and the appraisers get only two dollars per day and three cents per mile travelled. The company has existed since 1888, and since then it is estimated that it has saved its members a total of \$10,000 to \$12,000.

PART II

NON-ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES





## CHAPTER IV

### CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Almost the only way to awaken interest in political or civic affairs is to suggest their relation to taxation. Efforts to elicit the prevailing sentiment in regard to various political issues of state or national scope, invariably met with failure, except in the case of a few socialists, who appeared to be "fairly well read up" on the doctrines of Eugene V. Debs as expressed in his national organ, *The Rip Saw*. Any reference to the tax situation, however, immediately found a ready response on the part of everyone. No one was averse to expressing his opinion on this subject, no matter how uninformed in general, or how reluctant to talk on other matters.

The following table presents in a summarized form the important facts in regard to the number of qualified male voters who do their duty as citizens by exercising their suffrage at the different occasions that this privilege is granted them. The cost of local government is also shown for each of the six townships included in this survey.

The explanation of the fact that only about one third of the qualified voters are present at the town meetings, appears to be that law and custom combined have pretty well defined what is to be done at these meetings as regards the amount of taxes raised for various local purposes; so practically the only thing that a man's presence at the meeting would affect, is the personnel of those elected to administer the local government. Many people do not care particularly who is elected to these offices, mainly because "there is practically no chance for graft on the part of these local officers; no one would have the nerve to do anything crooked when all their doings are open to the close inspection of their neighbor citizens." Another explanation very similar to the one just given, is that "no one who has ever had a town office, cares to have it again; it's all trouble and continued dissatisfaction on the part of someone or another, with no pay to make it worth while." For this reason there are no office-seekers

who arouse farmers to get out to the polls to vote for them, as is the case in the election of county, state, and national officers. In this connection it should be noted that the very considerable increase in cost of township government is to be ascribed chiefly to the increased work of the town supervisors. More of their time is required for inspection of road work, and the purchase of road and bridge building material. The primary elections have also added an additional cost of about seventy-five dollars.



A view of one of the new concrete bridges built by Kanabec County. Swamps and wide streams demand large expenditures for bridges.

One of the most important functions of the "town board" is to equalize assessed valuation of property for purposes of equitable taxation. This office is a disagreeable one, because of the many complaints of persons who believe their property to be unfairly taxed in comparison with that of their neighbors. Of greater importance still, however, is the work of the board in connection with the building of roads and bridges. All the road work of the township is done under the direction of these three supervisors. The following table gives a summarized account of the condition of public highways in this community, and also the increased attention given to road improvement as shown by the increase in local taxes for that purpose.

TABLE XXIV  
CIVIC AFFAIRS IN TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

Name of town	When organized	Number of qualified voters	Average number of voters at town meeting	Average votes at primary election	Average votes at general election	Town revenue 1912	Town revenue 1902	Average pay of supervisor	Average pay of town clerk
Brunswick	1882	240	130	157	218	\$350	\$250	\$50	\$ 70
Grass Lake	1883	180	65	145	176	297	296	37	80
Maple Ridge	1871	230	100	100	180	100	150	40	100
Nessel	1870	200	40	150	150	300	200	30	75
Royalton	1883	225	100	...	185	175	...	...	...
Stanchfield	1871	216	55	...	216	250	...	35	50
Average per township		230	81	136	186	\$370	\$119	\$48	\$ 75

TABLE XXV  
ROAD CONDITIONS AND AMOUNTS EXPENDED FOR IMPROVEMENTS

Name of township	Number of miles gravelled	Number of gravel pits accessible	Number of road graders	Number of wheel scrapers	Number of common scrapers	Number of road drags	Number of bridges	Stone or concrete culverts	Road and bridge fund 1912	Road and bridge fund 1902
Brunswick	3	2	1	3	14	2	4	2	\$1,210.00	\$275.00
Grass Lake	2	1	1	4	16	...	6	1	1,105.75	271.00
Maple Ridge	3½	20	1	4	9	...	13	35	644.00	213.00
Nessel	.....	2	2	10	20	...	4	1	1,533.00	411.00
Stanchfield	.....	4	1	5	20	4	10	1	982.00	407.00
Total for community...	8½	28	6	26	79	6	37	39	\$5,474.75	\$1,580.00
Average per township...	2¾	7	1½	5½	15½	3	7½	9½	\$1,094.95	\$316.00

The writer can not vouch for the accuracy of all the above figures. They were obtained from town clerks and supervisors of the different towns represented, and are approximately correct. It is noteworthy that in only two of the above named townships did the officers in charge have a complete inventory of their road-building equipment, and in only one township did they know exactly the number of rods their roads had been gravelled, and the cost at which this had been done. In defense of this laxness in auditing business efficiency, it was explained that at each town meeting the voters discussed and checked up on the expenditures of the preceding year. That is considered a sufficient audit of expenditures.

The figures in the foregoing table are significant mainly in that they bring out the great difference in local conditions. In some townships it is hard to fill in low swampy stretches of road because of the great distance to gravel pits. Some towns have purchased a number of gravel pits, whereas others have paid a lump sum which gives them the privilege to get as much gravel as they desire for a definite number of years, and still others buy it by the load. There is also a great difference in equipment of modern road building machinery. It is only during the past two or three years that the large-sized road graders have come into general use, in this section of the state. There is considerable difference in the prices paid by different boards for this road machinery. The chairman of one of these boards stated that he had bought a number of wheel scrapers at twenty per cent less than the price paid for the same by the board in an adjoining town. This is no reflection on the honesty of the board which paid the higher price; it merely shows superior bargaining ability on the part of the chairmen of the board which made the better bargain.

Galvanized corrugated iron culverts and concrete or stone bridges are beginning to displace the wooden structures. At first all of the towns used only wood in the construction of all culverts and bridges. This was by far the cheapest and quickest way of doing it; but now there is a tendency to build more permanently even though it be somewhat more costly. It is figured that "the farmers can stand it." There is a general sentiment, however, that the recent good roads legislation, popularly known as the Dunn and Elwell laws, was "ill considered and hasty, to say the least." Farmers maintain that they are as interested in good roads as anyone, the only reason that they "hang back" being that "the amount of traffic in this country does not warrant the expenditure of several thousand dollars per mile of road." Their program for road improvement contemplates the "fixing up of the bad stretches, wherever they may be; not an enormous expenditure of money on a limited mileage, located on roads designated by an autocratic central state highway board. If concrete or brick roads are to be built let them be paid for by owners of automobiles and motor trucks, to whom alone they can be generally serviceable."

Town boards may have made mistakes, the farmers generally

admit, but as a rule they are made up of "good, honest, public-spirited citizens, many of whom sacrifice pecuniary returns and endure much discomfort by giving their service to local public work." It is sentiment of this kind that bears no good omen for the future of road development under centralized control.

### TAXES AND COSTS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The two following tables are included in this survey mainly for the benefit of the people of the community dealt with in this survey. The writer was repeatedly asked to explain the cause for the ever-increasing taxes. Space does not permit of a detailed analysis of the tax situation either locally or for the State as a whole. The two following tables, however, show some of the main causes for increase in local taxes; and a comparison of the two brings out differences which the average farmer does not understand.

These two tables studied in connection with the population table on page 8 of the introductory chapter show the reason why farmers of another county adjoining Chisago are complaining of their own taxes, because their "neighbor with just as big

TABLE XXVI  
CHISAGO COUNTY TAX SITUATION

	1912	1910	1905	1885
County, real estate value.....	\$3,512.10	\$2,890,614	\$2,267,070	\$1,048,963
Nessel town, real estate value....	310,512	257,102	236,627	101,654
County, average value per acre...	\$13.28	\$10.91	\$8.56	\$4.30
Nessel town, average value per acre....	12.84	10.63	9.78	4.52
County, personal property.....	\$675,606	\$688,520	\$606,077	\$439,430
Nessel town, personal property...	54,660	45,042	34,625	30,446
County, rate of taxation (all taxes).....	21.38 mills	23.78 mills	18.8 mills	18.9 mills
Nessel town, rate of taxation....	16.69 mills	19.11 mills	21.2 mills	20.9 mills
County, road and bridge fund...	\$1,972.32	\$3,363.41	\$800.76	
County poor fund.....	\$2,982.53	\$5,885.95	\$5,905.65	\$2,543
County, ditch tax levy.....	\$5,940.73	\$7,940.96	\$10,304.45	
Nessel town, ditch tax levy....	678.44	737.89	612.39	
Nessel town, revenue.....	\$292.14	\$302.14	\$162.75	
Nessel town, road and bridge fund	1,533.72	664.72	488.25	
County, special school tax.....	\$28,381.49	\$24,566.57	\$27,273.72	\$8,650.09
Nessel town, special school tax..	982.38	1,272.07	1,939.93	863.47

TABLE XXVII  
KANABEC COUNTY TAX SITUATION

	1912	1910	1905	1885
County, real estate value.....	\$2,006,110.00	\$1,686,276.00	\$1,464,523.00	\$679,956.00
Grass Lake town, real estate value	162,226.00	139,891.00	127,680.00	23,322.00
County, average value per acre...	\$5.98	\$5.03	\$4.41	\$4.19
Grass Lake town, average value per acre.....	7.48	6.45	5.59	2.25
County, personal property value.	\$306,374.00	\$197,376.00	\$175,037.00	\$25,643.00
Grass Lake town, personal property value.....	12,671.00	11,844.00	16,311.00	4,248.00
County, rate of taxation (all taxes)	37.6 mills	33.9 mills	35.8 mills	16.3 mills
Grass Lake town, rate of taxation (all taxes).....	28.6 mills	30.6 mills	30.7 mills	26.4 mills
County, road and bridge fund...	\$4,248.51	\$3,598.86	\$2,612.68	.....
County, poor fund.....	\$1,403.37	\$1,799.43	\$2,037.84	\$719.12
County, ditch tax levy	\$1,870.96	\$1,755.94	\$1,613.48	.....
Grass Lake town, ditch tax levy..	845.95	865.92	689.73	.....
Grass Lake town, revenue.....	\$297.61	\$303.70	\$296.01	\$ 91.09
Grass Lake town, road and bridge fund.....	700.27	607.41	606.83	248.13
County, special school tax.....	\$3,050.08	\$25,267.20	\$16,164.52	1,007.40
Grass Lake town, special school tax.....	1,353.24	1,544.67	858.59	119.80

and good a farm pays only two thirds the taxes that they do." Aside from the greater population of Chisago County, there is a difference in taxes due to special ditch taxes levied against the land which was supposed to have been directly benefited thereby. Also, there are marked differences in the costs of the local district schools. (The writer can not refrain from recommending in this connection, that the local farmers' club at Braham should procure a copy of Professor E. V. Robinson's masterly analysis of the "Cost of Government in Minnesota." This study is published as a part of the Biennial Report of the State Tax Commission for 1912. One or two programs of the year could certainly be given over to a discussion of this important, but poorly understood, feature of our government).

#### COUNTY DITCHES

In connection with the county ditch taxes there was considerable complaint. Many farmers had the notion that these ditches would complete the drainage of the farms which were specially taxed for these constructions. When it became evi-

dent that these ditches served merely as an outlet for the water which would naturally seep into them, and that this natural seepage is not sufficient to make low swamp lands arable during the greater part of the growing season, there arose numerous and bitter complaints to the effect that these ditches were no good to them. Indeed, it appears that in some instances there was ample cause for complaint. The assessments of taxes in accordance with value received by adjacent property owners, were arbitrarily made. Some people, no doubt, gained at the expense of others in this drainage work. In a few instances, it is maintained, the engineering was so incompetent that the "water actually flowed for a mile or more in the opposite direction from that intended by the engineers in charge." The farmers in these localities made many sarcastic comments in regard to this. "It would be a funny joke, were it not so unjust to the farmers who have to pay for this fool work."

#### POLITICAL ALIGNMENT

The following table shows how the people of this community cast their ballots for governor of the State, in 1912. It is a fair index of the political sentiments of the community, in regard to state and national politics.

TABLE XXVIII  
HOW THE COMMUNITY VOTED

Name of township	Repub- lican	Demo- cratic	Public Ownership	Prohi- bition	Pro- gressive
Brunswick .....	69	11	59	17	19
Grass Lake .....	73	16	13	35	17
Maple Ridge .....	70	39	14	25	18
Stanchfield .....	47	22	25	53	11
Village of Braham .....	23	5	16	17	5
Nessel .....	73	30	17	10	19
Royalton .....	90	42	7	20	15
Total of the community..	445	165	151	177	104

This table shows the diverging opinions of these people on questions of public policy. Comparatively few have well-founded convictions on state or national politics. The few who do have strong convictions on any question, however, influence many neighbors to vote as they do. This explains the varying percentages of particularly the socialistic or public ownership



vote, and also the prohibition vote. Wherever there is a live Good Templars Lodge, there are usually a large number of prohibition voters. In regard to the varying socialistic vote, it is caused largely by the influence of one or two strong local agitators.

The doctrines of the socialists have permeated the political sentiment of the community much more than is indicated by the votes cast for the Public Ownership party candidate for the office of governor. There seemed to be a general impression in the minds of most people that "our government is dominated by cap-



Roads running through swamps or old lake beds require constant repair. Farmers contend that local road supervisors give more attention to "bad spots" than would a county supervisor.

tains of wealth." Some farmers even suspected that this social survey was "conceived and carried out at the behest of Rockefeller and the other multi-millionaires who determine not only what the people shall read, and what the growing generations shall be taught at school, but who even run our government." It was thought by many farmers who professed not to be socialists that such investigations as this survey were undertaken "only to find out how much more we poor farmers can stand to have squeezed out of us." Several farmers were so bitter against "this ever increasing inquisitorialness of our government" that they threatened to "sick the dog" on the investigator if he did not leave immediately.

## CHAPTER V

### EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

In the present chapter, consideration will be given all activities and influences which help to train and develop the individual, whether child or adult. First place in such a discussion should be given to the formal educational activities which find their main expression in the public school system. Besides this formally conscious effort of the community to train its youth for greater efficiency and higher culture for the purpose of better citizenship, there are various other informal educational influences which are oftentimes deserving of more attention than is usually given them.

The latest United States census report shows a very favorable educational situation in the four counties represented in this survey. In the matter of first grade teachers, salaries paid, enrollment and attendance of pupils, the counties rank among the first in the State. The following excerpts taken from the report of the Superintendent of Schools of Kanabec County, for the year 1912, is representative of school conditions in general throughout this territory:

"There are 51 school districts in this county, containing 54 school houses. Two of these are of brick, one is brick veneered, and the balance frame. These buildings and sites are valued at \$80,276.00. Four new buildings were erected the past year at a cost of \$4,558.00, all modern buildings, built according to plans from the Department. One district has added a grammar department to their building and become a semi-grade school, making the fourth school of this kind in the county. One district has reorganized as an independent district and is meeting requirements for special aid under the 'Holmberg Act.' Many improvements have been made in other districts, having for their purpose the betterment of their schools. I regret to say there are 16 school grounds having no trees upon them. One hundred and sixty-two trees were set out on last Arbor day in seven different districts.

"All but five school districts have libraries in their school houses. These libraries, as a rule, are very good selections of books for pupils

in the various grades. Eight hundred and seventy-nine volumes were added to these libraries this year at a cost of \$282.00. That the books are being read by the pupils is shown by the fact that 3,200 volumes were taken out the past year. The total number of volumes in all libraries of the schools is 6,784 and their value, \$4,207.00.

"The total enrollment of pupils the past year was 1,962, being 60 less than the previous year. The number having attended 40 days or more is 1,768 being five more than the previous year, thus showing that while the total enrollment was far less than the previous year, the attendance was much better. The average number of days each pupil attended school, 1910-11, was 108.8 and, for 1911-12, was 110.

"The average length of school during the year 1910-11, was 7.43 months and, for 1911-12, 7.73 months and the same amount has been voted for this year. The average attendance at "annual school meeting" was 15, a considerable gain over any former year.

"Twenty-nine rural districts received special state aid the past year, a gain of three over the previous year. This year this aid for rural schools was \$6,267.00, and for high and graded schools, \$2,350.00.

"The seventy teachers in the county drew as salary the sum of \$29,653.00. The male teachers in rural schools receiving an average wage of \$47.00 and the female \$43.50. Eight teachers taught on permits (third-grade certificates), twenty-five on second-grade certificates and the balance on first-grades, normal diplomas, professional and special certificates.

"Text-books purchased the past year amounted to \$920.00. The present value of all seats and desks is \$12,000.00 and other apparatus about the same, \$14,000.00 was in the hands of the school treasurers the beginning of the school year and \$16,000.00 at its close.

"There are five districts with less than 10 pupils enrolled and eight with more than ten and less than twenty.

"During the school year the superintendent has made 137 visits to schools, has issued eight permits, and refused to issue two. No certificates have been revoked.

"While there is room for improvement in the rural schools in methods and work, there has been a steady advance for, the better the past year. The superintendent takes this time to thank the teachers, who have so ably conducted the schools of the county the past year, and to hope that the present year may find them all as zealous for improvement as in the past."

The following table presents a detailed description of the variations in progress of school conditions in different districts of two representative townships:

TABLE XXIX  
DIFFERENCES IN SCHOOLS BY TOWNS AND DISTRICTS

District number.	STANCHFIELD DISTRICTS										MAPLE RIDGE DISTRICTS					
	Year 1900					Year 1910					Year 1900			Year 1910		
	10	14	22	39	41	10	14	22	39	41	26	28	50	26	28	50
Total enrollment.....	44	46	30	53	34	43	35	32	53	38	79	66	56	32	93	72
Apportionment entitled to.....	35	40	24	46	32	36	33	26	52	35	64	52	48	32	86	69
Average days attendance.....	60	75	59	78	53	109	78	83	108	60	75	63	70	125	108	25
Pupils, 8-16 years age.....	37	35	25	46	25	33	32	26	48	28	56	52	47	20	76	67
Pupils, 16-21 years age.....				2	1		1				8	1				
Pupils attending more than 12 weeks.....	28	27	11	35	25				40	1	48	30	42	20	53	
Average wage of teachers.....	30	35	30	40	35	45	40	40	42	35	32	32	35	40-50	40-55	45
Number of teachers—high school graduates.....										1						1
Number of teachers—normal graduates.....						1								1		
Number of teachers—college graduates.....																
Number of teachers—3 years or more in district.....																
Number of teachers—2 years in district.....																
Value of school house and site.....	425	460	80	700	500	913	800	500	1,000	800	850	500		1500	200	1200
Value of seats and desks.....	52	60	30	100	60	353	100	125	75	40	150	35	50	150	116	200
Value of text books.....	77	90	41	82	89	200	21	121	120	120	174	40	63	200	185	185
Value of apparatus.....	45	10	25	25	100	21	25	50	84	80	80	65	60	150	176	293
Number of volumes in libraries.....		37		24	159	205	100		250	140	51	51	28	170	326	200
Books taken from libraries.....				80	59	142	100		343	129	124	25	28	470	216	287
Value of library.....		9			40	124	24		175	35		40		8	175	165
Months school.....	6	6	6	7	8	8	6	7	8	8	6	6	6	8	8	8
Voters present at meetings.....	14	12	40	19	5	11	10	6	12	6	7	16	10	28	14	12
Rate of special tax.....																
State aid.....																
Paid out for improvements.....																
Indebtedness.....		67			2	1000			65	100	48	8	20	386	17	108

It is evident from the foregoing table that there are great variations in the support given educational work in various districts. Several attempts have been made to consolidate various districts, but these have generally failed. The farmers have found out that it usually costs more to support a consolidated school than a small independent district. This fact far outweighs all other considerations. The table shows that there is but little school indebtedness. Farmers generally say that "if the present generation can't pay its own obligations, what will happen to following generations if we load them down with our bonded indebtedness?"

In almost all districts it is reported "difficult to get a good boarding place" for the teacher. The usual price paid for room and board is twelve dollars per month. This often includes laundry work, especially if the teacher is on good terms with some young member of the family. This is very commonly the case, especially because the teacher is usually of the same nationality that prevails in the district. Many acquaintanceships thus formed ripened into happy marriages. Pictorial decorations and books in many homes give evidence of the cultural influence of school-teachers. The kindly relationship that generally exists between the desirable young men of the community and the teacher is further shown by the fact that in the few cases where the school board does not hire the heavier janitor service done, there is usually some swain nearby who sweeps and builds the fire for the teacher every morning in winter. Everywhere at parties or dances in the country, young lady school-teachers exert an elevating esthetic and moral influence; and "at that they are mostly all jolly good mixers, and full of fun." That only a few prefer to continue to live "a life of priceless independent maidenhood" is shown by their ages. Practically all the teachers are between twenty and twenty-five years of age. None in this community was younger than twenty, and only four were older than twenty-five.

#### NEWSPAPERS, FARM PAPERS, AND MAGAZINES

Practically everybody in the country enjoys the use of the rural mail service. The following table presents a general view of the way in which this service helps the farmers to get into

communication with the outside world, and thus widen their views and life interest.

TABLE XXX  
RURAL MAIL SERVICE

Items of interest	Route No. 1	Route No. 2	Route No. 3
Number of titles or papers.....	25	25	27
Number of families served.....	126	135	116
Pieces of mail handled during year.....	105,000	110,000	90,000
Patrons receiving daily papers.....	67	75	35
Patrons receiving farm papers..	104	135	95
Patrons receiving town edition.....	75	50	50
Number of years since started.....	6	10	9
Number of trips missed in that time.....	3	4	3

A further analysis of the educational influence of the press is shown by the following figures. Those who take farm papers, in most cases, have two; some have three or four. The average number subscribed for in this community is 1.7. In only sixty-two per cent of these homes does the husband read the farm papers; but in all of the cases where he does not read them, either a boy in the family or the wife does. The reading of this class of literature is not very general among women and boys, however. Only thirty-one per cent of the boys, and eight per cent of the women claimed to read farm papers. Agricultural College Extension Bulletins are received and read by only twenty-six per cent of the farmers. No person in town subscribed for farm papers, "and yet in spite of this fact," said one farmer, "townspeople continually try to tell us what we farmers ought to do."

Local town or county papers are taken by seventy-one per cent of the families in both the country and village. The general tone of the local paper published at Braham has changed with each change in editorship. In late years there have been fewer of the embarrassing personal allusions which, it is said, used to constitute the chief attraction of the paper. The following is an example of this "neighborhood josh": "A certain Braham young man took a honeymoon trip in the vicinity of Rice Lake with a Grass-Lake maiden, last Thursday. He says it is a sweet job." Many people do not take the local paper, they say, because "there is nothing in it of real value to the community." It is hardly necessary to say that by furnishing local items of in-

terest the paper really does perform a worthy function. Editorial comments like the following are no doubt also of value: "Profanity may be good enough in its place, but there should be a little less displayed on the front village street."

Other weekly newspapers, mostly of foreign language, are taken by sixty-nine per cent of the farmers who take an average of 1.9 of them. In the village there appears to be a dropping off in the interest taken in the mother tongue, as is evidenced by the fact that only forty-eight per cent of the families subscribe for one or two weekly papers. In the matter of city daily papers, however, the villagers have a better record than the farmers. Forty-eight per cent of the families in the village take a daily paper, whereas only forty-three per cent of the farmers have "a daily." There is a constantly growing interest in the market quotations given by daily papers. Farmers are beginning to try to understand market reports.

In the matter of magazines of the better class, the townspeople also have the better record, although it may be said to be far from a favorable one. Whereas in the case of farmers only eighteen per cent of the families have an average of 1.5 first-class popular magazines, the villages have an average of 3.4 in twenty-seven per cent of the total number of homes. In almost all cases where a good magazine is taken it is because of the presence or influence of a former school teacher in that home.

The village people receive magazines of the cheaper class (thirty-five cents a year or less) in only seventeen per cent of the homes, and these have an average of 1.8 of them. Twenty-five per cent of the country families have an average number of 1.5 of these cheaper publications.

Religious or church publications are taken by twenty-five per cent of the country homes, and twenty-seven per cent of the village homes. The average number of these papers taken by these families is 1.2. It is said that only the older people read these papers. Many of the younger element "keep them only to please the pastor."

#### OTHER MEANS OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Of the homes in the country forty-seven per cent have telephone connection. In the village fifty per cent of the families



have the same convenience. It can hardly be maintained that the telephone is, strictly speaking, an instrument of education, yet it does put people into a more immediate and sympathetic relation to the rest of the world.

With regard to moving-picture shows or other local entertainments, they are purely recreational, or for amusement only. That they have an educational influence, however, often of a deleterious nature, can not be gainsaid. Twenty-one per cent of the rural families and forty-five per cent of the village people generally attend them on an average of only two or three times a year. The young people of several families in the village, however, attend very frequently. From the standpoint of the esthetic and moral welfare of the youth, it would, perhaps, be better if these shows never came to town. Yet no shows which in the opinion of the owner of the hall are positively bad, are permitted to appear.

Only twenty-nine per cent of the rural families attended any musical program, such as a concert by a band or the local town school orchestra. Sixty-six per cent of the villagers attended these local musicales. The town formerly had a brass band, but the young men kept leaving town, and finally it became impossible to get a competent instructor to keep together an organization of musicians. At present the town has only the school orchestra. At Rush Point there is a band composed of farmer boys. They frequently play at celebrations in nearby towns, such as Rush City, Pine City, or Grasston.

Sixty per cent of the farmers make it a practice to attend farmers' institutes or short courses, "once or twice in several years or so." Fifty-eight per cent of the village families make it a practice to attend most of the public lectures, such as those offered by the University Extension Division.

Sixty-eight per cent of the farmers have attended the Minnesota State Fair at least once. The average number of times attended was 4.4. In only forty per cent of the homes where there are unmarried sons or daughters over eighteen years of age, had any of these young people attended the State Fair.

The following table gives the passenger receipts by months for the town of Braham in 1912. It shows at what times of the year the people of this community do their traveling.

TABLE XXXI  
PASSENGER RECEIPTS

January .....	\$ 486.65
February .....	387.73
March .....	449.88
April .....	595.44
May .....	514.15
June .....	697.71
July .....	607.38
August .....	663.72
September .....	1,125.58
October .....	419.08
November .....	601.36
December .....	582.01
	<hr/>
	\$7,130.69

It will be noted that the summer months are the particularly heavy months for travel. Numerous religious conventions, as well as circuses, carnivals, and fairs in different places, all contribute to this increase. All these excursions, though undertaken primarily for pleasure, have a very important influence on the lives of the people of the community. An example of this is to be seen by the influence of the many girls who return home for a few weeks vacation from their work in the cities, as well as the boys who have "toughed around a little." Of this more will be said in the final chapter.



The Braham Public School.

## CHAPTER VI

### RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

The territory embraced by this survey is amply provided with churches. The average distance from country homes to churches attended is only 2.3 miles, and hardly any family has farther than three miles to go to church. Although there are no Catholic churches in the community, there are a large number of different Protestant denominations. In one township alone, there are six churches, representing four different denominations. New-comers in the community who can understand only English are poorly provided for in this respect, since services are conducted either in Swedish or German, according to the neighborhood in which the church is located. A few pastors have attempted to encourage the attendance of these English speaking families, but have had poor success. They say that these people really do not care for religious services. These families themselves give as their reason for non-attendance the fact that they happened to be "trained in the faith of a different denomination," and also that "the pastors, however good they may be in their native tongue, cannot preach well in English."

There is foundation for the charge of one pastor that the people of the community as a whole "the more Americanized they become, the more evident becomes the lack of a feeling of responsibility to God. People fail to give thought to the real purpose of man's existence and place in God's great plan." On the other hand, a few farmers gave as their reason for not being church members that "it costs too much money; can't afford it." "Anyway," said others, "practically, after all, it comes down to a basis of morals; we try to do our duty as well as we can towards others, as well as ourselves." These variations in religious convictions are pretty well localized. Thus it was put by a business man in town: "While the people living west of town

are praying and reading about the land of milk and honey, the farmers east of town are busy producing milk and butter."

In the Braham territory, six country churches have already succumbed to the gradual "inroads of socialistic agnosticism," and "general spiritual unconcern." These churches are "not exactly dead," however, for mission pastors occasionally preach there and administer communion services two or three times a year. Whatever the exact causes, the facts, according to the information secured from the families of the community, are that only forty per cent of the heads of families and forty-one per cent of the wives, are church members. These figures show only how many families have membership in some local church which they attend. A considerable number of families profess to be Christians, and many of these attend local church services, although they are not considered as members of the church.

Of the total number of families in this community, thirty-three per cent attend church services regularly. Husbands' attendance was quite as regular as the wives'. By regular, is not meant that a family necessarily attends church every Sunday. In many cases their church has services only once a month. When members of such churches attended only these few services regularly, they were credited with "regular attendance."

The average number of services attended during the year, by all who go to church was 21.8. Pastors usually so limit the number of services per month as to assure themselves a good-sized congregation. The two following tables present a number of interesting items furnished by the pastors of nine different church organizations in this community.

It is evident from the foregoing table that the Swedish Lutheran, and the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran churches are the strongest in this community. The Swedish Evangelical Covenant of America Congregation had no pastor and it was impossible to get data on its membership. Only comparatively a few families belonged to this church, however. It is noteworthy that men do not join the church as readily as women until they are married. Those who are dropped from membership, both men and women, are usually people who have moved out of the community. Most of the churches are growing in membership, though some are very weak.

TABLE XXXII  
CHURCH STATISTICS—MEMBERSHIP

	Denomination	NUMBER OF ACTIVE CHURCH MEMBERS				GROWTH OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP LAST FIVE YEARS			
		Adult men	Adult women	Young men	Young women	Men added	Women added	Men dropped	Women dropped
1	Swedish Baptist.	15	22	2	4	2	10		
2	Swedish Lutheran	70	63	17	32	36	61	12	10
3	Swedish Evangelical Lutheran.	43	37	38	52				
4	Swedish Lutheran.	35	35	19	24	4	3	3	2
5	Swedish Evangelical Covenant of America.*								
6	Swedish Lutheran	110	105	30	35	42	45	25	26
7	Free Evangelical Association.	6	6			2		1	
8	Evangelical Mission Covenant	31	32			9	9	4	5
9	Evangelical Mission Covenant.	9	12			3	4	1	2

\*A rather loose organization. No figures available.

TABLE XXXIII  
KIND AND CONDITION OF BUILDINGS

	Kind of building	Year erected	When last painted	When last decorated	In good repair	Separate Sunday school room	Separate room for social work
1	Wood	1882	1911	1912	Yes	No	No (A kitchen where refreshments are prepared)
2	Brick veneer.	1907	1907	1907	Yes	No	Chapel for young people's society meetings
3	Wood.	1909	1909	1909	Yes	No	Yes
4	Wood.	1891	1911		Yes	Yes	No
5	Wood.	1880			Yes	No	No
6	Brick and concrete.	1913	1913	1913	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	Wood.	1899	1910	1903	Yes	No	No
8	Wood.	1886	1911	1910	Yes	No	No
9	Wood.	1890	1911	1909	Yes	No	No

The numbers of the foregoing tables and those to follow correspond with those of the preceding ones. By cross reference the identity of any of these churches may be established. With the exception of two, these churches were built a considerable while ago, and they are therefore modest little pine-wood edifices. Only the two most recently built structures have separate rooms for Sunday school or for social work. All are in good repair, however, according to the opinion of the pastors making the reports.

### SUNDAY SCHOOLS

In thirty-one per cent of the families of this community there was membership in a Sunday school. The following table prepared from information furnished by pastors and Sunday-school superintendents, gives a summarized statement of important facts connected with the Sunday-school situation.

The hour for holding Sunday school varies with local conditions. In some congregations the session precedes the divine worship, and in others it follows. It will be noticed that few women are teachers. This is both because of lack of fit learning on the part of many women, as well as a rather general opposition to permitting women to give formal religious instruction. Adults seldom join a Sunday school class. The men prefer to gather outside the church and smoke their cigars or pipes, and the women gather in groups about the church, while the children receive instruction. It will be noted that the girls outnumber boys in membership.

### YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETIES

In sixteen per cent of the homes of the community there is membership in a Young People's Society. The following table gives the pastor's reports on the conditions of their respective organizations.

TABLE XXXIV  
SUNDAY SCHOOL STATISTICS

At what hour	Number of male teachers	Number of female teachers	Number under 18 teaching	NUMBER OF STUDENTS OR PUPILS				GROWTH OF MEMBERSHIP, 2 YEARS			School is graded
				Boys	Girls	Men	Women	Boys added	Girls added	Adults added	
1 12:00	3	2	None	10	15	4	7	4	2	None	No
2 12:00	2	3	2	11	34	5	10	.....	.....	.....	Yes
3 10:00	2	.....	.....	.....	Total	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Yes
4 10:30	5	1	.....	15	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Yes
5 or 1:30	3	1	.....	30	56	Total of 40	.....	.....	.....	.....	Yes
6 9:15	1	8	None	18	19	.....	.....	10	12	.....	Yes
7 11:30	1	.....	None	18	22	.....	.....	6	8	None	No
8 10:00	2	1	.....	33	38	.....	.....	6	7	.....	Yes
9 12:00	2	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	10	.....	Yes
0 10:00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Yes

TABLE XXXV  
YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETIES

	MEMBERSHIP				MEMBERS ADDED LAST 2 YEARS		Time of meetings	
	Adult men	Adult women	Boys	Girls	Men	Women		
1.....	7	9	2	2	2	.....	Saturday night	Social meetings during year  Two State Luther League convention, lectures, concerts.
2.....	10	16	9	22	6	6	Every other Wednesday night,	
3.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Every other Wednesday night,	
4.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Once a month.....	
5.....	10	18	15	20	.....	.....	Thursday night.....	
6.....	22	18	10	9	.....	.....	.....	
7.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
8.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
9.....	4	5	2	2	1	2	.....	

\*No organized society.



Three of the nine churches have no organized young people's society. It is noteworthy with these religious organizations as with others in this community, that the women and girls outnumber the men and boys. Only on certain social occasions of the society, are the men and boys present in creditable numbers; and then it is said that the young men attend mainly because of the opportunity it affords "to see all the good-looking girls that are sure to be there." Many are not as frank about the purpose of their coming and explain that they "come just to help the girls out with the money they need." Whatever the underlying motives of those who attend, it is certain that at least two of these organizations are a decided influence for good, in that they give the pleasure-loving youth the right kind of social entertainment.

In forty-one per cent of the homes, the wife is a member of the Ladies' Aid, or the "Women's Society." The following reports of pastors give membership and number of meetings of their respective societies.

TABLE XXXVI  
WOMEN'S SOCIETIES

Enrollment		Average attendance	How often they meet
1	18		Every two weeks
2		85	Every three weeks
3		30	Every two weeks
4			No set time
5	40	25	Every two weeks
6	60	50	Twice a month
7		12	Once a month
8	42	80	Once a week
9	20	40	Once a week

\*No data furnished.

These women's societies are entertained in turn at the various homes of the "better-to-do" members of the organization. The pastor and his wife are of necessity expected to be there. At these meetings some "quilting" or sewing is usually engaged in until coffee is served; and the meeting is adjourned with prayer and benediction, following a collection and singing led by the pastor. The proceeds of these meetings are used for church decorations or missions.

The following table, made up of the information furnished by the various pastors of these nine churches, gives, in brief, the general status of the outside social activities of these different churches, as well as the presence or absence of special influences of evil in the community.

TABLE XXXVII  
SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF CHURCHES

Number of social activities		Average number present	Amount contributed to denominational benevolence	Amount contributed to other than denominational
1	3	75.....	\$28.86 last year.....	
2	4	850	\$176.90	
3			\$400.00	
4			About \$400.00.....	Cannot give exact figures.
5				
6			\$300.00	\$100.00
7			\$73.00 (for travelling minister visiting)	
8	One concert by choir and ice cream social	No record		\$75.00.
9	Two festivals, program and refreshments	175	\$125.00.....	\$90.00.
			\$ 88.00	

There is considerable difference of opinion in regard to the attitude that the church should take towards dances, card playing, and Sunday baseball games. As a general rule, however, pastors are opposed to them. Parents, too, if they are church-going people, usually oppose these forms of amusement and recreation. Yet, in nineteen per cent of the homes there are boys who play baseball on Sunday, and in thirty per cent of the homes there are boys or girls who attend dances. In thirty per cent of the homes they play cards occasionally. Those parents who are opposed to card playing and dancing constitute thirty-four per cent of the total number.

Card playing is always indulged in "only for fun and to help pass away time when there is company present." The Sunday baseball games are usually free from immoral or otherwise objectionable features. It is for this reason that some preachers are "only ostensibly opposed to these pastimes." As regards the dances, however, this cannot be said. In order to get a sufficient number of young people together, it is necessary that these af-

fairs be open to anyone who desires to attend. As a result of this, it often happens that girls associate with drunken men whom they fear to antagonize by refusing to dance with them. It is said that in certain neighborhoods even girls become loud and boisterous as a result of intoxication. In such cases "the dance continues until almost daybreak, by which time most of the



A typical country church.

couples have started for home in a drunken stupor." These conditions are by no means general, however, for in most localities "drunkenness is not tolerated on the dancing floor." The dances given under the auspices of lodges are said to be above criticism. In discussing moral conditions of the community, one pastor, who was less pessimistic than the average, concluded that "in general the influence for good overbalances the influence for bad."

PART III

WHAT LIFE AFFORDS



"A beginner's shack" is the cut-over country of Kanabec County.



A view of the homes of a retired farmer and of the local physician in the village of Braham.

## CHAPTER VII

### LABOR INCOMES AND MATERIAL COMFORTS

In the foregoing chapters consideration has been given to those activities of the community, that are not pursued as ends in themselves. Besides the distinctively economic interests these chapters dealt also with the various organized or unorganized efforts to regulate business and social affairs of all kinds, as well as with those formal and informal endeavors intended to educate and inspire the citizenship of the community. In this and the following chapter, we shall discuss the part played by these latter endeavors to attain higher ideals, and develop a more refined esthetic and moral nature.

In Chapter I the cash income for the average farm in the community was shown. It will be remembered that the \$568 represented the total cash returns of the whole family's labor, including that of hired help. If the necessary outlay for hired help and machinery (not to mention interest on capital invested) were subtracted from this amount it may readily be seen that the net labor income of these families is indeed small. It should be remembered, however, that besides this cash income, the family has had for its own consumption all the common products of the farm, such as vegetables, milk, butter, meat, eggs, fruit, and honey. Were it not for this the farmers could not exist, for as it is, many are actually losing money at the business. About the only thing they have to show for the year's work, is that they managed to live. The increase in bank accounts shown in a previous chapter is the result of penurious living. They represent small savings from wages earned, not profits. In order to compare the standards and costs of living of the families in the village with those of the country, records were obtained from sixty families in the village. This includes practically every family in the village. The occupations of the heads of the families are as follows:

Baylor	2	Liveryman	2
Blacksmith	2	Lumber business	1
Breeder	2	Mail carrier	2
Buttermaker	1	Merchant	5
Carpenter	1	Minister	1
Cattle buyer	1	Retired farmer	12
Clock	4	School janitor	1
Creamery man	1	Section boss	1
Diplo agent	1	Stone mason	1
Dressmaker	2	Telephone expert	1
Farmer	1*	Traveling man	1
Houskeeper	1	Warehouse manager	1
Laborer	5	Washwoman	1
Land agent	1		

The labor incomes of merchants in this village have been discussed in the third chapter. They are of very moderate size, ranging from about \$600 to \$2500 per year. These figures do not include any income that a person may receive from bonds or shares of stock which he may own in some other business than the one in which he happens to be actively engaged. The average labor income of heads of families in the village, other than merchants, was \$900. This labor income was realized from an average of 332 days work. Besides the above, there was an additional average income of \$176, in eleven different homes, which was earned by the wives. These earnings include that of washing done for other families, and payments of boarders and roomers. The average number of weeks that roomers were kept in these homes was 35.7 and the average rent received from them was \$54.50. Also, in thirteen homes there were additional earnings by children. These latter earnings were considered as the children's own, and are not included in the family budget.<sup>1</sup>

Only three per cent of these village families raised all of the potatoes they used; and these had an average of 147 bushels, some of which were sold. Thirty-three, or over fifty per cent of the families raised some other garden stuffs of their own. Besides, ten raised fruit; and twelve had a cow of their own to supply them with milk and butter. Seven families raised a part of their meat supply; and sixteen of them had poultry and eggs from their own "hennery."

\* Also potato buyer, 1.

<sup>1</sup> The average amount of family income for working equipment, such as horses, wagons, etc., was \$100.



Most all of the houses were owned by the families who occupied them. According to the estimates of the owners, the average rental value per year of all these homes is \$127, or \$10.58 per month. The average tax paid by these home owners was \$33.11. Expenditures for fuel amounted to fifty-one dollars per average family. The average paid out by each family for foods was distributed as follows: potatoes, \$6.95; other garden stuffs, \$11.78; fruit, \$14.12; milk, \$66.15; butter, \$35.56; meats, including poultry and fish, \$70.86; eggs, \$37.20; coffee, \$17.05; sugar, \$13.61; flour, \$15.54. The average bill for lighting was \$11.59.

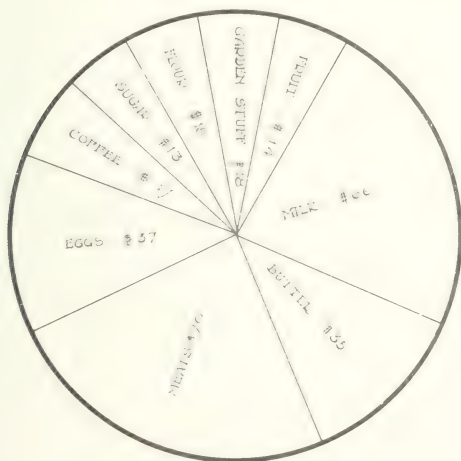


Diagram 5. Showing the relative importance of expenditures of village families for the most important items of food.

The total of the above enumerated expenditures amounts to less than one half of the average family cash income. Owing to lack of accounts, and a general reluctance to give amounts paid for various articles of clothing, doctors' bills, and general house furnishings, it was impossible to get anything approaching a fair estimate of these items. The clothing generally worn and the kind of house furnishings show the greatest variation, and it is generally in these items that extravagance is apt to creep in. As a

whole, however, it must be said that the housewives and daughters of most of the homes in the village are very frugal and industrious, and are not given to display, either in their homes or upon the street. As a class, however, they appeared much more stylishly and expensively dressed than the average farmers' wives and daughters. Little difference between the dress of the young men of the farms and of those in the village could be observed, since practically all of them wear "hand-me-down suits" of similar style and quality. In general it may be said that there is very close adherence, on the part of the youth of both village and country to what they believe to be the dictates of fashion. Whenever a boy or girl who has been working in "the cities," returns home for a short visit with relatives, the things they wear, as well as the slang they use, or the mannerisms they affect, soon become the standard of the "live ones at home." To cite an illustration a boy who had graduated from a business college in the city, returned home "for a few weeks' rest." During his stay at home "he was regarded as a model of what was latest in styles," with the effect that "practically everybody in the town, and in the country for miles around, started to grow side whiskers, the craze for which has not entirely died out." In general, there appears to be but little difference in the hirsutical adornment of the village and the farm boys. A local barber stated that "the town boys have their hair trimmed about every six weeks," the country boys "usually have theirs cut every two months." Old farmers "usually celebrate once a year, when a neighbor's boy shingles off the year's growth of both the old man and his kids."

In addition to the fact that women in town generally have better means of knowing the fashions in vogue, they usually appear better dressed than their country sisters, because they spend more money for clothes. Not only is this the opinion of dealers in dress goods, but investigation into the matter shows that in only forty per cent of the country homes was any of the dress-making done by a professional seamstress. In the village fifty-three per cent of the families hired their sewing done by a good seamstress, and in some other homes either the mother or one of the girls was a professional dressmaker. A photographer stated that "on wedding occasions everybody is as well dressed as the skill of the dressmaker and the styles permit." The photograph galleries give ample testimony to the accuracy of this statement.

A comparative view of work of women and conveniences in village and country homes is shown by the following percentages. In twelve per cent of the homes of the country and village alike, a hired girl was had during the year. The families in town, however, had a girl for an average of 283 days, whereas the country women had one for an average of only fifty-six days. The wages paid in the village was only forty-one cents a day on the average, whereas the wages paid on the farm averaged sixty-three cents a day. Even at this difference in wages the girls generally prefer to work in town. Some of the reasons for this will become apparent when it is shown what work is expected of women on the farm.

In the country, all of the washing must be "done by the women folks." In only one of the country homes was the washing machine run by motor power, and in only twenty per cent of the homes was there even a washing machine. In all the other places the big, heavy, "wash" of the entire household must be done by hand. In the village, eighteen per cent of the women hire their washing done, twenty-one per cent have washing machines, and the rest do their own washing by hand. Two homes in the village run their washing machines by motor power. In only eighteen per cent of the country homes do they have rain water with which to do their washing. In two thirds of these places the cistern was so located that the water could be pumped in the house. In the village twenty-eight per cent of the homes had cisterns for soft water and two thirds of these also were within the house. In the country only fourteen per cent of the homes were equipped with oil stoves. In all other homes, the ironing was done in the same room with a hot wood stove fire. In the village fifty-six per cent of the homes have oil stoves, and thirty-six per cent of them have electric irons. That these various conveniences affect a girl's choice between a country and a village home can hardly be doubted, even if it were not for the testimony of many girls to the same effect.

In only seven per cent of the country homes may drinking water be drawn in the house; and in fifteen per cent of the homes it must be brought from a distance of over five rods from the house. Windmills for pumping water were used on only thirty-seven per cent and gas engines on only seven per cent of the farms. In the village the drinking water is in the house in

nifty three per cent of the homes, and it is over five rods from the house in twelve per cent of the homes.

In the country, heating is done almost entirely by means of wood stoves; coal was used in only three per cent of the homes. In four per cent of the homes, there was a hot-water system of heating. In the village, coal stoves were used for heating in forty-five per cent of the homes. Hot-air furnaces were used in twelve per cent, and hot-water in five per cent of these homes. In only one country home, was there a gas-lighting system; in all others, kerosene lamps and lanterns are used. A gas system was used in but one village home, and electric light was used in forty per cent of these homes. The average number of rooms in both country and village houses is 6.3. Only a few of these are kept heated.

Only thirty per cent of the country homes had icehouses, even though ice could be harvested anywhere each winter at a distance of not more than two or three miles; and lumber was always plentiful. In the village, all families who want ice may have it delivered by the drayage company which also owns the village ice-house.

Screened porches were enjoyed by only ten per cent of the country families, although the mosquitos are very troublesome here owing to the swamps in this region. In the village, thirty-six per cent of the homes had screened porches.

Front yards were kept clipped with lawn mowers on forty-four per cent of the farms, and on sixty-six per cent of the village places. On twelve per cent of the front yards of the country homes, calves or horses were pastured, and these kept the grass down. In the rest of the cases the lawn was occasionally mowed with either a field mower or a scythe. Few farmers allowed the front yard to grow weeds.

Eighteen per cent of the farm homes had hammocks or frame swings. In the village twenty-one per cent of the families had one or the other of these and there was evidence on any summer evening that those in the village were being used.

In connection with the foregoing home conveniences and comforts, it is interesting to compare the usual daily routine of country and village people. The farmer's work is more or less seasonal, and therefore, it is hard to give an average daily schedule of his activities. According to general observation and the testi-

mony of the farmers, the following figures do give an approximate distribution of the twenty-four hours of the day, for the average farmer. In summer: at chores 3.1 hours; eating 1.9 hours; field work 9 hours; recreation 1.9 hours; and sleeping 8.1 hours. In winter the day is spent about as follows: chores 4.8 hours; eating 2.1 hours; on road or outside work 4.6 hours; recreation 3.4 hours; sleep 9.1 hours.

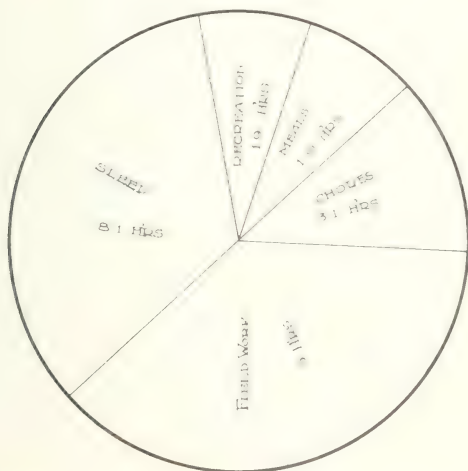


Diagram 6. How the average farmer's day is spent during the summer season.

Without attempting to criticise the kind of farm practice which results in the foregoing distribution of time, it is noteworthy that because of the way things are now done in the country, it seems necessary to many farmers to let the women help them with their work in the following ways: in forty-seven per cent of the homes, women help in the field work; and in seventy-four per cent of the homes, women help milk and do chores. Besides this, in forty-one per cent of the homes the women make their own butter. In only seven per cent of the country homes do the men alone take care of the gardens. In thirty-one per cent of the cases both men and women share in the care of the

garden and in sixty-two per cent of the homes, women alone tend the garden.

In the village the daily routine of the head of family appears to be the following: regular work 9.8 hours; work around the house 1.3 hours; eating 1.5 hours; recreation 3.5 hours; sleep 7.9 hours. In this connection it is well to note that the wives of

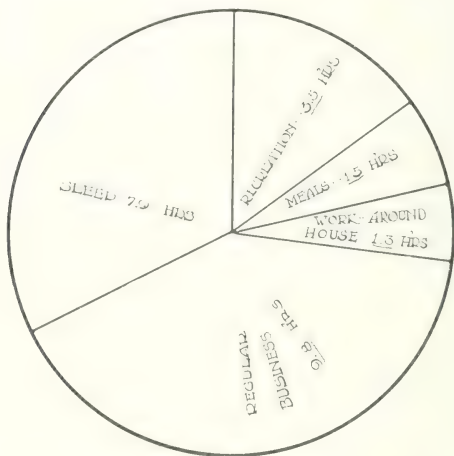


Diagram 7. How the average village man spends his day.

some of the merchants often help them with their work in the store. Some farmers' wives believed it was no more out of place for them to help their husbands in their farm work than it was for wives of merchants to help in the store work. In either case, the aid is usually cheerfully given. There is this difference, however: the merchant's wife almost always has a maid to look after the housework, whereas the farmer's wife generally does not, and it is said that a wife who does the work of a farm hand is apt not to be as neat, and her home not so tidily kept as might otherwise be the case.

It is the opinion of the local physician that hygienic, sanitary conditions are "making fairly good progress." As a general rule, however, "people are still afraid of fresh air, almost everybody

keeps bedroom windows tightly closed." Parents are giving more attention to the eye and nasal affections of children; but with respect to the care of teeth, they are very backward." Many girls from sixteen to nineteen years of age have some of their front teeth extracted, simply because it is thought too expensive to have them filled with gold. "Women but little over thirty years of age may frequently be seen with practically all of their teeth out." The local physician is doing what he can to better this condition by advocating better care of the teeth, and by refusing to extract teeth which a person can afford to save by filling. The dentist reports that most of his work is "extracting and plate work." Young ladies, however, quite commonly use tooth brushes, and they usually try to have a tooth filled whenever such treatment will save it.

People generally care for their sick in their own homes and only in case of surgical operations do they willingly submit to entering a hospital. The people generally appreciate the services of the hospital, however, and there seemed to be a number of farmers, as well as merchants, who were willing to subscribe some capital towards the erection and equipment of a good-sized modern hospital. The building now being used for that purpose by the local doctor as his own private institution, is "entirely too small to accommodate the many cases that would be treated here if a good modern structure were equipped."



## CHAPTER VIII

### RECREATION AND SOCIAL LIFE

Students of rural social conditions are divided in their opinions concerning the fundamental causes of rural discontent. Some maintain that if economic conditions are properly ordered, social contentment will follow as a result. Others contend that opportunities for recreational and social activities are the all-important considerations in the country-life problem. In the presentation of the inventory of these activities in the Braham community, the writer has included such data as will reflect the viewpoint and opinions of both old and young, who actually live in the country.

The following figures present the chief forms of recreation in the home circle: reading is a common pastime in eighty-eight per cent of the country homes, and in ninety-four per cent of the village homes. Cards are played, usually only on winter evenings in twenty-nine per cent of both village and country homes. Women sew or do fancy work for recreation in seventy-six per cent of the village homes and in fifty-two per cent of the country homes. Music is a common recreation in fifty-one per cent of the country homes and in only forty-three per cent of the village homes.

Perhaps one of the chief reasons for the precedence of the country over the village in this respect is the fact that girls in the village do not care to play unless they have a piano. Only ten per cent of the country homes have pianos, whereas thirty-two per cent of the village homes have them. In the country, however, twenty-eight per cent have organs, whereas in the village only seven per cent have. Also twenty-two per cent of the country homes have violins, as compared with eighteen per cent of the village. Phonographs are in eighteen per cent of the country homes, and in only five per cent of the village homes. In the number of musicales or orchestral concerts attended by some member of the family, the village naturally leads the country, be-

cause of the comparative ease with which they may attend. In the country only twenty-nine per cent of the families were represented in these audiences; as against sixty-six per cent of the village homes. In the village, buggy or automobile drives in the evenings constitute a common form of recreation for thirty-seven per cent of the families; and "down town gatherings" are common experiences for men and the older boys, in twenty-eight per cent of the homes.

Among the recreations away from home one of the most popular is dancing. In thirty-three per cent of the village homes and in twenty-nine per cent of the country homes somebody attends dances. In only fifteen per cent of the homes do parents willingly allow girls to attend country "bowery or barn dances." At these usually "the tougher set gather." There is indubitable evidence that at some of these dances "moral conditions are as bad or worse than in the lowest public-dance-hall gatherings of the cities." It was maintained by a person who claims to know that "practically all illicit sexual relations as well as the increasing number of cases of venereal infection may be traced back to the public dances." The public records at the country court house, of course, give only a faint suggestion of the extent and gravity of this moral problem, for only a few of these cases get into the legal records. Although it is a sad commentary to make, a common opinion of both young and old men is that "as a class, the girls who have been working in the cities for a while, are the chief cause for this constantly growing evil." Information from medical sources seemed to corroborate this charge.

In justice to this district as a whole it must be said that the above-mentioned conditions are more or less limited to certain neighborhoods and both boys and girls know the character of those who usually attend a dance in any particular place. It is hard to state whether or not these demoralizing influences are spreading, but they are menacing.

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, baseball is played almost solely on Sundays. Farmers feel that they can not spare any of the week days for sport, and so the boys, who like the game, usually manage to gather each Sunday afternoon. These games were not held responsible for any gross immoral tendency, although it is charged that in some cases the language used is hardly in accord with the liturgies of the church services in the

morning, which are attended more or less regularly by the boy players and the girl spectators as well as by their parents.

Fifty-two per cent of the farmers go fishing an average number of 6.3 times a year. These fishing trips are usually on rainy days when it is impossible to do much regular farm work. Merchants who have cottages at Rush Lake, fish almost every morning before they drive in for the day's work. Only four families in the village owned cottages at the lake, but these families frequently invited others to spend some time with them there. Thirteen families were thus entertained an average number of 3.3 times a year. The average number of days vacation for wives in the village was fifteen, for the husbands, twelve days.

The average farmer's family usually views a trip to town with about as much enthusiasm as do villagers a trip into the country. The average number of times per year that farmers take their families to town is fifty-four. This does not mean that the whole family goes there together, but that "some of the women folks and children go along to town to get what is needed in the house, or some matter of dress."

Single buggies are used by seventy-one per cent, double-seated buggies by fifty-four per cent, and surreys by only 3.5 per cent of the country families. Only two per cent have automobiles. In the village, eighteen per cent have automobiles and twenty-seven per cent have buggies, one half of which are single buggies.

### SOCIAL LIFE

Social calls or visits are always of a most informal nature. Often a farmer or his wife will announce to some friend as they emerge from the church together that "to-day we'll come to your place unless you're going elsewhere yourself." The reason for this easy unconventional freedom is that country people generally associate only with those with whom they are most intimate friends. The least difference regarding any matter whatsoever serves to break all social connections between the families concerned. They may continue to attend the same church together, and even sip coffee together at a ladies' aid meeting, but any direct personal intercourse is scrupulously avoided. The older boys and girls often do not enter into the feuds of their parents; indeed love affairs of the young people are said to have frequently ended the foolish enmity of the parents. That social clannish-

ness prevails in many localities is shown by the fact that only forty-one per cent of the families visited with any one besides their relatives. The average number of such visits during the year was seventeen per family. Practically all of the visiting in the country is done on Sunday afternoons. Only twelve per cent of the families reported that they did not visit or have company on Sundays. The average number of these visits during the year, was nineteen per family. In seventy-six per cent of the homes there had been "evening visits during the winter months." These visits are usually not on Sundays, and card playing is the common form of entertainment except in homes where there is religious taboo on this form of amusement. The average number of these evening visits per family was seventeen during the last year.

The attendance at social affairs is shown by the following figures. The average number of times that members of church societies attend meetings during the year was fourteen. These meetings are held in rotation at the homes of the different members; both village and country women attend them in common. The social relationship thus maintained between country and the village is unquestionably a good to the community. The same may be said with regard to the lodge meetings; both men and women get better acquainted at these social affairs, which usually terminate with a dance. However, only twenty-one per cent of the homes of the country are represented in the membership of the various lodges of this community. Only forty per cent of those who do belong to lodges, attended any meeting during the last year. Those who attended meetings went an average of seven times during the year. In only twenty per cent of those same homes did the wives also attend lodge meetings, and they attended an average of eight times during the year. In the village forty-eight per cent of the homes are represented in lodge membership, and of these seventy per cent attended some lodge meetings during the last year. The average number of meetings attended by men was nine, whereas the women members attended an average of fourteen times during the year.

The following table made up from the reports of officers of the various social organizations in this community, presents in a condensed form many important facts concerning the status of each.



Officers of lodges generally felt depressed as a result of the usual poor attendance of their members. A few of these lodges are fraternal insurance organizations, one of which has suffered from dissension in the politics of the central organization. Only a few people in this community had insurance with any "old line company." Fifteen per cent of the farmers had life insurance, of one kind or another. The average amount for which they were insured was \$1452. In the village thirty-eight per cent of the families carried life insurance, for an average amount of \$2750.

### HOW COUNTRY LIFE APPEALS TO COUNTRY PEOPLE

We have completed our analysis of conditions of country life as it is, both on the farms and in the village. Let us now see how the people who live in this environment feel about the life they are living. One of the best ways to gauge this sort of feeling is to find out how many people are content with what life in their community offers them, and how many show discontent by trying to leave it.

It is often maintained that if the young country women can be kept on the farms, the young men will also stay as a result. Whatever the facts may be relative to the cause and effect of the situation, it does seem that where conditions are such that girls remain on the farm the boys also usually remain. Of the particular families in this community from which detailed information was obtained, it was found that there were 193 sons and 151 daughters who were over eighteen years of age. Of these boys seventy-two per cent were single. In the case of the girls sixty-five per cent were unmarried. The extent to which the young people are aided in getting married by widening the circle of their acquaintance, is shown by the fact that in the case of the boys only one third were married without leaving the neighborhood, and two thirds of them "found their wives away from the home community." In the case of the girls one half were married before having left home, and the other half "found their husbands after having left the home community." That the low proportion of eligible young men and women who are married is not caused by any extraordinary degree of aversion to early marriages, is indicated by the records of the Clerk of Courts in the

four counties in which the territory of this community is located. Approximately eight per cent of all the marriages in these counties are contracted by parties, one of whom is below the legal age of marriage. In the newer regions these extremely early marriages are most frequent, as is shown by the records of Kanabec County in which twelve per cent of the marriages were by "under-age parties."

It is noteworthy, however, that thirty per cent of the girls over 16 years, on farms expressed themselves as being unwilling to marry a farmer. Sentiment of this kind may be somewhat responsible for the large number of single people in the country who are old enough to be married.

Of the unmarried boys over eighteen years of age, forty-six per cent are away from home. Of these only twenty-one per cent are working for farmers; the rest are working elsewhere. Of these latter there are four bank clerks, two chauffeurs, four saloon porters, three carpenters, four clerks, three cement-layers, one steam engineer, two railway employees, one storekeeper, two miners, one sailor, and two teamsters. It is noteworthy that only a few get positions of any considerable importance.

Of the boys of the village who are over eighteen years of age, four are at home and thirty-nine are away from home. Of these, twenty-two are married. Five per cent of them work on farms, and eight are running farms of their own. The occupations of twenty-four who are working away from home are as follows: nine clerks, four traveling salesmen, and one each of the following: carpenter, dairyman, electrician, elevator boy, minister, sailor, plumber, section hand, coachman, teamster, and school teacher. Of the boys over sixteen years of age living on the farm, thirty-five per cent expressed themselves as not wanting to be farmers. Only six in this community were able to attend high school in order to fit themselves for other positions in life.

Of the ninety-seven farmer girls over eighteen years of age who were unmarried, forty-eight per cent were away from home. Of those away from home, only four were working in the country, and forty-three were working in a town or city. The latter were employed as follows: housemaids, twenty-nine; dress-makers, four; clerks, two; waitresses, three; stenographers, two; hairdressers, one; music teacher, one; laundry worker, one.



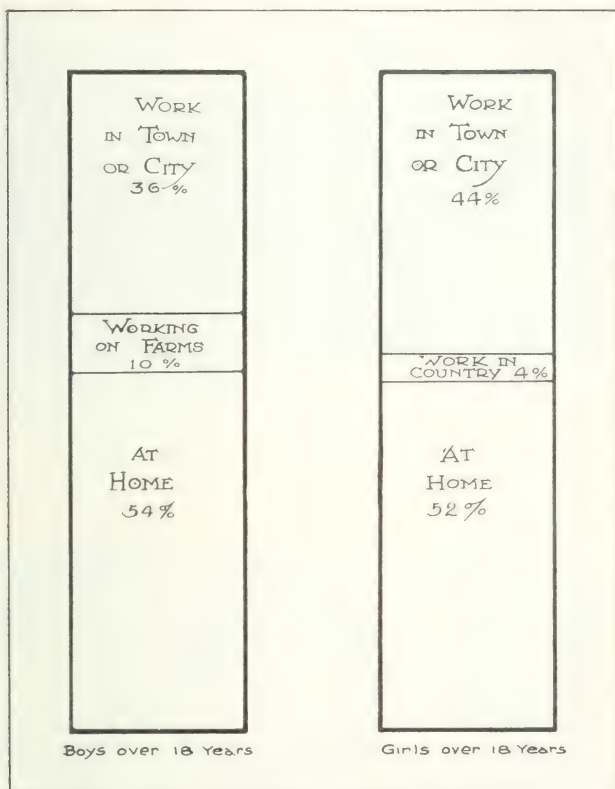


Diagram 8. The extent to which unmarried farm boys and girls over eighteen have left the farms.

Only three of the girls at home were attending high school, and two were attending a Normal School. Six girls were school teachers.

Of the twenty-four single daughters of the village families, nineteen were away from home. Of these, eighteen were working in cities. They were employed as follows: housework, six;

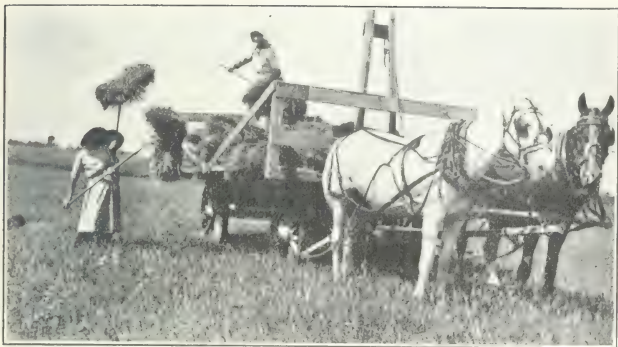
telephone operators, three; dressmakers, three; clerk, one; stenographer, one; factory girl, one; clerk, one; school teachers, two.

There were seven girls of the village families who attended high school; and five were attending a college or normal school.

The usual reason given by these families for the exodus of their children to the cities, is that "there is nothing to do here in the country, so why not let them go where they can earn good wages." A glance at the population table for the township covered by this survey, will show that there is indeed a large population here, and study of the living conditions in this community undoubtedly convinces one that "for most of the young people there is but little opportunity here, either financially or socially." It is said that housemaids working in the cities quite commonly receive four or five dollars or even six dollars per week. Such tempting wages combined with the stories of the good times that may be enjoyed in the cities, are responsible for the large number of girls who seek employment there. The moral dangers that beset the pathway of these girls are usually not known to their parents. The evil results of this ignorance have already been commented on.

The boys, too, find that the city occupations usually pay higher wages than they can get at home. After they have tried them, however, they admit that it is hard to save as much money as they did in the country, even though the pay is more. The greater opportunity for social conviviality, soon outweighs considerations of the simple rustic virtues; and it is said by local farmers that "but few men who have gotten to like city life will ever make good farmers again since it requires a different nature to be a good farmer than to be a business mixer."

Perhaps the most common opinion regarding the fundamental reason for the social discontent which is "becoming more and more evident among the newer generation," was that "it is because of too much education"! The older people, especially, felt that as a result of our continued efforts for more education, "people are getting to have wants which we, forty years ago, regarded as luxuries fit only for kings. That is the reason, too, why so many young people will not get married; they're after only fun in life, and they don't care to settle down to work like good honest people used to." Likewise it was commonly charged by these older people that "the younger generations are living be-



Women and children commonly help in farmyard and field work. It is one of the reasons why country girls want to live in cities.



The country home of a contented old settler who prefers his solitude to life in town.

good their means. Many buy a manure spreader when they can afford to have only a lumber wagon, and a good fork; others get rugs and furniture to store away in a dark parlor, when there still remains a big mortgage on a farm."

As to the solution of the problem, most of the older people generally piously agreed with the preachers, that "the situation demands a good religious awakening"; but one of them added the practical suggestion, that besides a greater faith in God, "people ought to get busy and raise hogs and milk cows, and stop fooling away so much time."

## CONCLUSIONS

I. The farming methods are rapidly changing for the better, but there is a lack of appreciation of what neighborhood and community coöperation will do to help solve the seasonal labor problem and to keep down over-heavy interest charges on but little used machinery.

II. Now that the principal farm income is derived from dairying, the marketing problem of the farmers is in the main satisfactory, due chiefly to the successful operation of farmers' co-operative creameries. There is some complaint with respect to the marketing of potatoes, but it appears to the writer that the chief reason for this is a lack of understanding of the functions of wholesale buyers and distributors. The writer is of the opinion that a good "producers' association" would help to get much larger returns, even if the marketing were left to the present competing "jobbing concerns."

III. The farmers of this community should discuss regularly in club meetings methods of improving farming and marketing conditions. There is plenty of local talent to conduct these meetings with programs of the proper kind. All that is needed to start these neighborhood clubs is a little help in organizing them. The principals of schools and pastors of local churches might be of assistance in forming such clubs in the community.

IV. The retailing business appears to be satisfactory to most of the farmers, even if a large per cent of them do patronize mail-order houses. Most of the stores are run with very small profits. Some would show a loss if all charges were properly made. Local merchants all express deep concern regarding catalog-house competition, but some of them might better give more thought towards increasing the efficiency of their own business, or else get into some kind of work where they can render more economical services to society. The writer is of the opinion that the competition of catalog houses, on the whole, is a very good thing for the community in general.

V. The "county ditches" have done much to drain this country, and have accomplished the first thing necessary in the construction of good roads. There is some evidence, however, to show that there was some inefficient engineering in the construction of these ditches. The appraisals to determine the amount of taxes to be paid by owners of adjacent property were oftentimes made arbitrarily and some injustice undoubtedly resulted therefrom.

VI. Although the roads are very bad in many places, the community as a whole is doing good work towards their improvement. It is necessary to go slowly because the kind and amount of traffic the farmers have to do does not warrant inordinate expenses, such as is entailed in the construction of macadam and concrete roads.

VII. The public schools are generally well attended and the work in them is showing a very satisfactory improvement. County superintendents of four counties were unanimous in their commendation of the interest shown in education throughout their territory. Consolidation of schools will make but little progress, however, if left to local option. This is mainly because the farmers want to be shown that the actual benefits to be derived from consolidation will equal the added expense of such a system. If consolidation of rural schools really will bring about all that is claimed for it, then perhaps we ought to make it compulsory by state legislation.

VIII. It seems to the writer, that owing to the gradual change wrought by newcomers of different nationalities, and the dissemination of socialistic doctrines with their usual agnostic accompaniments, the church is losing control over the ethical and moral standards and aspirations of the community. The evident remedy is that ministers of the gospel should be men not only thoroughly imbued with Christian ideals, but should also have a practical appreciation of American standards and practices in business and social life. The church ought to identify itself more with the business and social activities of both old and young.

IX. The standard of living is undoubtedly being raised higher and higher from year to year. Foremost in this work are the public schools, which furnish most of the new ideals. The growing prosperity of the farmers, however, alone makes pos-

sible the realization of the ever increasing wants. This ever increasing prosperity is caused by the general progress of the sciences and arts both nationally and locally.

X. A general feeling of class interests has made itself felt, owing partly to the spread of socialistic propaganda. As a whole, however, there is little but good will towards the more prosperous business men of the village. The chief reason for these amicable relations between country and village is the church and lodge activities centered in the village.



A week end party of village people at Rush Lake.





# The University of Minnesota

CURRENT PROBLEMS

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## BULLETIN FOR LATIN TEACHERS

BY

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## PREFACE

The College of Education has long realized the desirability of being able to place in the hands of graduates of the University about to enter the teaching profession some manual of immediate and practical value. The present bulletin for Latin teachers is the first to be issued. It is hoped that in the near future it will be possible to offer similar bulletins on each of the major high school studies. These bulletins can not undertake to give detailed considerations of special methods or of the many other important matters which are treated in the regular teachers' or special methods courses at the University. They are designed, however, to present a summary of the best books and materials available to teachers of the various subjects. In some cases, as in the present bulletin by Mr. Pike, a particular method which has attracted widespread attention will be discussed. In most cases, however, these bulletins will confine themselves to those problems which confront the beginning teacher and will discuss the concrete aids at her disposal in meeting them. Altho they are primarily for the novice in the teaching profession, it is hoped that they will prove of help to others. Any suggestions which increase their usefulness for this purpose will be welcomed.

F. H. SWIFT,  
*Secretary, College of Education*

## AUTHOR'S EXPLANATION

This bulletin on the teaching of Latin has been prepared at the suggestion of the College of Education as an aid to those teaching Latin in the Minnesota high schools. As the book of Bennett and Bristol on the *Teaching of Latin and Greek*, the article by Gonzales Lodge on Latin in the Monroe *Cyclopedia of Education*, and other works referred to in the following pages offer a complete discussion of methods, it is the purpose of the following notes simply to bring the matter up to date and to emphasize a few points which it is hoped may prove helpful and suggestive to high-school teachers of Latin.

JOSEPH B. PIKE

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## BULLETIN FOR LATIN TEACHERS

### I. THE TEACHING OF LATIN BY THE DIRECT METHOD AND MODIFICATIONS OF IT

Teachers are more or less familiar with the discussion that has been carried on in the *Classical Journal*<sup>1</sup> and other periodicals upon the subject of the direct method of teaching foreign languages as applied to Latin. It is not the purpose of the following paragraphs to enter upon a discussion of the pedagogical soundness of the method. They are intended primarily to assist and direct those who have become convinced that the direct method or a modification of it may be employed with advantage in the teaching of Latin, but who feel the need of some guidance in undertaking such work.

It is taken for granted in these remarks that teachers understand what is meant by the Direct Method. It will suffice here to say that the expressions Direct Method and Oral Latin may mean two very different things. The Direct Method necessarily involves the use—almost exclusive use—of conversational Latin, but Oral Latin does not necessarily mean the Direct Method. The characteristic features of the Direct Method are: first, the association, from the very start, of the Latin word with the object it connotes or the act it expresses, and not its association with the more or less equivalent English term; and second, the teaching of word-form, word-order, and syntax in complete sentences as inseparably connected and never as independent phenomena. In this connection the article by Gonzales Lodge on Oral Latin and the Direct Method, *Teachers College Record*, March, 1915, will be found helpful. The article, tho emphasizing the distinction, does not clearly indicate the nature of it and will be found chiefly suggestive in connection with the introduction of conversational Latin into classes which are not being taught by the Direct Method. The Rouse and Andrews Series, *Lingua Latina*,<sup>2</sup> was the first

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Journal*, 8:355-363; 9:67-72.

<sup>2</sup> *Lingua Latina*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; American Branch, 29 West 32d St., New York.

systematic attempt to produce beginning books for teaching Latin by the Direct Method. It consists of four volumes, as follows:

1. *Primus Annus*, Paine and Mainwaring, a beginners' book.
2. *Præceptor*, O. S. Andrews, a teachers' handbook with directions and suggestions on the use of the direct method.
3. *Puer Romanus*, R. B. Appleton, a reader to follow *Primus Annus*.
4. *Decem Fabulae*, Paine, Mainwaring, and Ryle, easy plays intended for reading, or acting, or both. (New York: H. Frowde, 1912.)

These books are not well suited to our system of public instruction owing to the fact that they were written for use in England where the pupils ordinarily begin the study of Latin much earlier than in our country and where, as in the case of the Perse school at Cambridge, which may be called the home of this series, the pupils have had two years of French by the direct method before beginning Latin. The first American book of this type appeared last September, *Beginner's Latin by the Direct Method*, Chickering and Hoadley (New York: Scribner's), in two editions, that for teachers and that for pupils. The teachers' edition contains the most complete set of suggestions on the application of the method that has yet appeared. The work is also the most complete and satisfactory exemplification of the two fundamental principles of the direct method which were mentioned above. On first perusing this work, a teacher who has had no previous experience in the direct method of teaching Latin will be appalled at the thought of undertaking to teach beginners with this book. As a matter of fact, such a teacher should not attempt it at once, but begin by using a simple oral method as suggested below.

In the United States there are two types of beginning books for Latin in general use at the present. In the first, the strictly systematic type, grammatical forms are presented with very little admixture of other matter. After the forms are mastered, the syntax is begun. The treatment follows the order of presentation in the grammar, and the vocabulary is largely that of Caesar.<sup>3</sup>

A second type of book, aiming to be more interesting and emphasizing the importance of oral drill, uses a less exclusively Caesarean vocabulary and usually suggests oral work by a series of questions at the end of each lesson. Mottoes and songs

<sup>3</sup> Bennett's *First Year Latin*, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1909) is one of the best examples of this type.

are sometimes introduced and effective use is made of remarks upon English derivatives.<sup>1</sup> This type of book is not so systematically arranged as the former, for it does not follow so closely the presentation of the grammar, but it usually gains in the interest it arouses.

The importance here of this second type of book is its frank acknowledgment that a certain amount of oral work beyond that of the mere drill on forms is valuable. Probably no teacher who has thought of the matter and experimented with his pupils will deny that a certain amount of oral drill is of great value to the pupil, because it arouses interest, fixes forms and expressions in the mind, and instils a feeling for idioms, especially in first-year work. If a teacher is convinced of this, it is his duty to acquire a fair colloquial command of the language. It is our present purpose to indicate to those who have had no training in this work a method of obtaining colloquial command of the Latin and of employing this power to increase the effectiveness of class work.

#### HOW CONVERSATIONAL LITERATURE MAY BE EMPLOYED

If the teacher happens to be using Bennett's *First Year Latin*, which is as far removed as any book from those that emphasize the importance of oral drill, he may conduct a part or all of the grammatical work on accidence in Latin as follows. (For words necessary consult the second part of *Primus Annus*.)

Dic mihi (or Velim dicas) quotae declinationis sit vocabulum bellum, or directly, Quotae declinationis est bellum?

Declina hoc verbum numero in singulari. Quo modo itaque exeunt in numero singulari nominativus casus eorum vocabulorum quae sunt generis neutri et alterius declinationis?

The student will be taught to answer in a full, complete sentence:

Alterius declinationis est vocabulum bellum. Hoc verbum sic declinatur numero in singulari.

A very complete vocabulary of grammatical terms may be worked up without excessive labor on the part of the teacher and used in whole or in part. If the teacher is preparing himself to use ultimately the direct method, he must acquire this facility.

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Primo Annus*, Allen and Bacon, may be cited as an example of this type.

If he fails to see the utility of this work for the class and yet feels that some oral drill is advisable, he may work over any of the Latin sentences of the review lesson into interrogative form. The questions may be answered practically by the sentences as given in the book, or the form of the question may be varied in such a manner as to require a slightly different or very different form of answer. The first three sentences of Bennett's *First Year Latin*, lesson XXXI, page 195, are as follows:

1. Hae civitates in amicitia Haeduorum manserant.
2. Helvetii fines angustos habebant.
3. Hostes signa militaria iam viderant.

Questions may be formed by the teacher to be answered orally as part of the review-lesson, thus:

1. Cuius (cuiusnam or quorum hominum) in amicitia manserant hae civitates?
2. Quales fines habebant Helvetii?
3. Quid iam viderant hostes?

The oral work may be kept strictly to the text as indicated above, or the teacher may go as far afield as he chooses. After the simple question on number 2, he may thus continue:

Angustos non latos fines habebant. Intelligitisne quid significet adjectivum "latos"? Latus et angustus contraria significant. Haec rima [pointing to some crack and indicating the proper dimension] est angusta; haec ianua [indicating the doorway] est lata.

Next, this new material is to be worked over in such a way that the pupils will be obliged to employ it in their answers. A little practice will give the teacher much facility in this work and increase his confidence. A limited use of this oral work is particularly valuable during first-year work and there is nothing to prevent its use in successive years.

#### HOW TEACHERS MAY TRAIN THEMSELVES IN ORAL LATIN

As one of the main difficulties of introducing the direct method is due to the teacher's own inability to use the language, the following additional suggestions are offered to assist in self-training in spoken Latin:

1. Take any easy text—the *Puer Romanus*, for example, or Nutting's *First Latin Reader*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>H. C. Nutting, *A First Reader*. New York: American Book Co., 1913. Kirkland, *Fabulae Faciles*, Longmans, is also suited for this work.

2. Read the first page, say of *Puer Romanus*.

3. Write down a series of questions upon the text. As the narrative happens to be in the first person, it will be simpler to formulate the questions in the third person, thus:

De quo (or quonam) Lucius est narraturus?

Quot annos Lucius natus est?

Quo nomine appellatus frater Luci est?

Quid designat Sextus? Cornelius? Pollio?

and so on.

4. After writing a number of such questions, answer them orally without consulting the book.

5. Finally taking the series of questions as cues, form from them orally a continuous account in the simple style of the text.

The teacher will find that memorizing easy stories and simple passages will greatly facilitate the acquisition of Latin in its colloquial forms.

#### HOW TO USE THE DIRECT METHOD

If now the teacher is not content with using a certain amount of oral Latin in connection with the ordinary beginning books as indicated above, the method to which the writer of this article is somewhat partial, but wishes to employ the direct method proper, he should secure the teachers' addition of the book by Chickering and Hoadley, mentioned on page 2, and make a careful study of it some months before he attempts to use it. The directions are given in great detail and the book is absolutely consistent and true to the principles of the direct method. Some additional help may be had, especially in the way of increasing one's grammatical vocabulary, by securing the various volumes of the *Lingua Latina* series mentioned on page 1. The first year's work is the really difficult task in teaching by the direct method proper. After the first year, the work is comparatively easy for the teacher who has any adequate command of conversational Latin.

#### TEACHING LATIN COMPOSITION BY THE DIRECT METHOD

One of the most gratifying results of the use of the direct method is the fact that pupils can be taught to write simple continuous Latin prose even during the first year, and the drudgery of turning English sentences of dubious idiom into equally dubious Latin is avoided.

Various methods of conducting this work will suggest themselves to the teacher when once he begins to study the problem. The following is a method found effective by the writer of this article:

1. Read to the class a simple story in Latin explaining in Latin that which needs explanation.
2. Have the pupils take at dictation a series of questions on this text so worded that the questions will contain all the words and ideas necessary for the continuous account.
3. Have the pupils write out their account in declarative and continuous form.

It is surprising how soon ordinary pupils will learn to write simple primer-style Latin by this method, and with none of the distaste usually aroused by lessons in prose composition. By explaining the Latin idiom in respect to the use of connectives and by selecting proper models, pupils may be gradually introduced to the more intricate and involved periodic structure. One may also, in connection with these lessons, give practice in writing any construction that he may desire to take up. Thus if he wishes to have some drill on result clauses, he may take a suitable sentence from the narration and throw it into a form that would require the result clause, explain the use, and show how it would be used in different tenses. This work is not at all difficult and is very effective. It does require facility of expression on the part of the teacher, but a little practice will give the required facility.

Should the teacher feel desirous of practicing further in expressing his own ideas in written form and of receiving suggestions, he may address any such pieces of work to the Latin Department of the State University and they will receive prompt attention. Should this be done, it is suggested that only such subjects be discussed as would probably be familiar to a Roman and able to be expressed by him in classical style, this in order that practice may be given in a vocabulary and style that will be useful to the teacher in his work. It is perfectly possible to discuss almost any topic in Latin, but some topics require the constant use of neologisms and this, for our present purpose, is undesirable.

## II. REMARKS ON THE TEACHING OF CAESAR, CICERO, AND VIRGIL

## CAESAR

It is remarkable that teachers persist so uniformly in teaching the first four books of the Gallic War. Doubtless, where preparation is made to take the State High School Board examinations, this is about all that can be done. Where schools do not feel obliged to take these, it would seem natural that a second-year reader such as that of Greenough, Dodge and Daniell,<sup>6</sup> would be used. The advantage of such a book is that a teacher does not have to plunge directly into the difficulties of Caesar with one year's preparation. He introduces his pupils in such a book as that mentioned, to interesting stories, fables, and letters, passes to biography and poetical selections and then to judiciously selected passages of Caesar. The work is a fair equivalent in amount to the first four books of Caesar. For those who are teaching Caesar exclusively, attention is called to a new edition of Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, by T. Rice Holmes.<sup>7</sup> This is the most valuable annotated edition that has yet appeared. Every teacher of Caesar should secure a copy, as it clears up many difficult points. The work is not intended or suited for high school pupils. It may be remarked that the only good English rendering of Caesar<sup>8</sup> is by the same author.

## CICERO

Sihler's life of Cicero entitled, *Cicero of Arpinum*,<sup>9</sup> has just appeared. It is a fairly satisfactory biography of Cicero for general reference, but the style is faulty and it is not a delight to read. The Strachan-Davidson biography is still the most illuminating in reference to Cicero's connection with the political events of his time, and the English is faultless.

## VIRGIL

W. Y. Sellar's *Virgil*<sup>10</sup> is the best study upon the poet that has appeared in English. Theodore C. Williams' translation of Vir-

<sup>6</sup> *Second Year Latin*. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1899.

<sup>7</sup> Oxford: Clarendon Press; American Branch, 29 West 32d St., N. Y.

<sup>8</sup> *Caesar's Commentaries on the Gallic War*. New York: Macmillan, 1899.

<sup>9</sup> New Haven: Yale University Press, 1914.

<sup>10</sup> Oxford Press, American Branch, 29 West 32 St., N. Y., 1897.



gil's *Aeneid*<sup>13</sup> into blank verse is distinctly a work of high order and the best verse-translation in modern English.

Metrical renderings, preferably into blank verse, may be made a very valuable and interesting element in the teaching of Virgil. Any teacher who has a feeling for rhythm can produce very satisfactory verse renderings of selected passages of the review lesson. In almost any class in Virgil, there will be found several pupils who have a natural feeling for rhythm. Such students should be encouraged to make translations of their own. If the teacher has little feeling for rhythm, a few passages from Williams may be written out for the pupils and the structure of blank verse explained. Those who have the ability to do this sort of work can then be discovered by assigning review passages to be rendered in metrical form. Excellent results with high-school pupils have been attained in the work, and it is an effective means of arousing literary appreciation. The following passages are cited to show what pupils can do in the way of metrical renderings:

Aeneid I, 579-589

Profoundly moved by her kind words, they long  
Had burned to burst apart their shroud of cloud.  
Achates is the first to speak his thoughts,  
"O goddess born, what purpose sways thy mind;  
All now is safe, thy fleet and crew restored;  
But one is missed; our own eyes saw him sink;  
All else is as thy mother said, 'twould be".  
Scarce had he said these words, when lo! the cloak  
Of clouds divides, dissolves and clears. There stood  
Aeneas bright to view within the glowing  
Light, in face and form a very god.

Aeneid III, 135-146

'Twas at

This time that hulks were beached upon the shore  
And youths were busy choosing wives and tilling  
Fields, when woe! a slow consuming scourge  
From heaven's tainted zone came down upon  
Men's frames and on the trees and crops; a year  
Of death it was. They left the pleasing light  
Of life or dragged about their stricken limbs.  
The dog-star scorched the withered fields, the grass  
Burned up, and blighted crops refused us food

To keep us still alive. My father warns us, once  
Again to travel o'er the sea and then  
Approach Ortigian Phoebus' shrine and beg  
What end he will vouchsafe our weary lot;  
Whence we may ask for help and whither turn  
Our course.

So much of the beauty of Virgil is connected with the rhythm of his verse that as much as possible of the text of the review lesson should be read each day. After the mechanics of scansion have been explained, little time should be spent on formal scansion, but much upon the rhythmical reading of the text. The teacher will find that he can secure good results by reading passages himself and having them repeated by the pupils.

### III. LANTERN SLIDES

The General Extension Division of the University has the following series of slides which will be sent to any teacher on application:

1. Caesar's Helvetian Campaign, a series of sixty slides accompanied by explanations.

2. A series of one hundred slides on the following subjects: the Pompeian house, household furniture, the trades, writing material and manuscripts, coins.<sup>12</sup>

3. A series of seventy-six slides on the following subjects: Rome and the Campagna, the Roman forums, mythology in marble and bronze.<sup>12</sup>

A number of volumes upon almost any phase of classical antiquity may be borrowed from the general library of the University upon application.

If a school desires to purchase slides, a set upon Virgil may be obtained from the Records of the Past Exploration Society, Washington, D. C.; and slides having to do with Caesar from George R. Swain, Lockport, Illinois.

### IV. BOOKS FOR GENERAL READING

The following list of books that have appeared in recent years will be found helpful and suggestive for general reading:

<sup>12</sup> Send for descriptive catalog to the Director of the General Extension Division, University of Minnesota.

Guglielmo Ferrero:

*The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, 5 volumes<sup>1</sup>

*Character and Events of Roman History*<sup>15</sup>

*Ancient Rome and Modern America*<sup>12</sup>

*The Women of the Caesars*<sup>14</sup>

The works of this brilliant Italian historian have aroused a remarkable general interest in the study of Roman history. Many of Ferrero's hypotheses are scarcely warranted by the facts as we know them. Some of his broader generalizations are, however, profound and his work is destined to change in some respects the general conception of Roman history.

Frank Frost Abbott:

*The Common People of Ancient Rome*<sup>16</sup>

*Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*

William Stearns Davis:

*The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*<sup>10</sup>

## V. MEANS FOR AROUSING INTEREST IN LATIN

Many teachers have found that the formation of Latin Societies for the discussion of topics connected with the study of Latin and for social intercourse have proved helpful in keeping up interest in the study of Latin. Various articles<sup>17</sup> have appeared in the *Classical Journal*<sup>18</sup> bearing upon this subject.

The production of easy Latin plays has proved a valuable adjunct to the work of Latin departments in the high school. The most available material for this is the small volume entitled, *Two Latin Plays*, Paxton, Ginn & Co. Other collections are *Cothurnulus*, *Three Short Latin Historical Plays*, Arnold, and *Easy Latin Plays*, Newman, both published by George Bell & Sons, London.

The following books are recommended as aids in arousing an interest on the part of the pupil in the study of Roman times:

Boissier, *Cicero and His Friends*. New York: Putnam.

<sup>1</sup> Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

<sup>12</sup> New York: Century Co.

<sup>15</sup> This book is published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, *Society and Politics*, 1909; *Common People*, 1911.

<sup>16</sup> New York: Macmillan Co., 1910.

<sup>17</sup> E. g. *Latin Clubs and Their Programs*, January, 1915.

<sup>18</sup> This is the official publication of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Membership (\$2.00) in the Association includes a year's subscription to the *Journal*. Address Esther Friedlander, Vice-President for Minnesota, South High School, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

A. J. Church, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*. New York: Macmillan, 1883.

A. J. Church, *The Burning of Rome*, Macmillan, 1891.

W. S. Davis, *A Friend of Caesar*, Macmillan, 1900.

Edward Bulwer Lytton, *Last Days of Pompeii*.

Pelisson, *Roman Life in Pliny's Time*. Philadelphia: Miller.

Henryk Sienkiewicz, *Quo Vadis*.

Emile Thomas, *Roman Life Under the Caesars*. Putnam, 1899.

## VI. PEDAGOGICAL AIDS

It becomes ever more incumbent upon the Latin teacher to formulate clearly in mind his ideas as to the value of his subject, particularly its content value, as the theory of formal discipline is abandoned more and more by our guides in pedagogy.

A Latin teacher should be able to feel convinced, and argue if need be, that a pupil who has studied Latin for four years and has afterward forgotten it to the extent of being unable to construe an easy sentence, always retains as a result of this study a clearer idea of the value of words in his own idiom, some more adequate conception of the laws of language, and, if he has been properly taught, a something that has developed into a more chastened taste evinced not merely in his attitude toward literature and art, but in his judgment upon matters of everyday life.

The University of Michigan has issued through the Macmillan Company a volume entitled *Latin and Greek in American Education*. In addition to the general discussion of this subject by specialists in the field of classical learning, papers are included written by men engaged in the teaching and practice of various professions, medicine, engineering, law, theology, and other lines of work, in which they express their appreciation for the help rendered them by the study of the classical tongues and their views as to the utility of these studies for their particular line of work. It is not to be expected that such articles will affect to any appreciable extent the number of those selecting Latin in the high school, but the papers will repay a careful reading. The most suggestive and valuable is that entitled, *The Case of the Classics*, by Paul Shorey.

The University of Colorado has lately published a volume<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Apply to the Registrar, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, for a copy of *University Bulletin*, No. 9.

on the same lines. It is taken for granted that all teachers are acquainted with the Sabine Collection of charts and the accompanying pamphlet entitled, *The Relation of Latin to Practical Life*. The pamphlet described may be secured by writing to Frances E. Sabine, 419 Sterling Place, Madison, Wisconsin. Every teacher is strongly advised to secure one. If he does, he will probably not be content until his school has worked up a series of the charts. Those that have a direct bearing upon the English are the most valuable and the most easily prepared.

Attention is called to an article which appeared in the *Classical Journal* of October, 1914, entitled, *Latin as a Vocational Study in the Commercial Course*. The plea that Mr. Perkins makes for coöperation on the part of Latin teachers, and assistance in the type of Latin courses he outlines, is well worth the careful consideration of every teacher of Latin. Whenever possible, teachers should exert their influence to have this work inserted in the commercial curriculum and assist in forming such Latin courses as will be most helpful for this particular line of work. Whether they be adopted, or if adopted be successful, will depend largely upon whether they are wisely planned. In working out such courses, the teacher should not feel bound in any way to follow the stereotyped course in Latin or bound by the methods that prevail there.

On the general subject of Latin and the Latin Teacher,<sup>20</sup> *The Teaching of Latin and Greek*,<sup>21</sup> by Bennett, is still the best book available. In this work a reasonable list of books helpful to the high school teacher and pupil may be found.

Mention has been made of the *Classical Journal*<sup>22</sup> in the course of these remarks. No teacher who has any ambition to keep informed on the progress of his subject should be without this publication. There is scarcely a number that does not contain at least one article bearing directly upon the Latin work of the high school.

<sup>20</sup> Consult also Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*, article, Latin.

<sup>21</sup> American Teachers' Series, New York; Longman.

<sup>22</sup> See page 10.

## VII. A CONSERVATIVE GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

The chief fault in bibliographies compiled for high schools is that they are usually too extensive and discourage the attempt to secure even a modest list of books bearing upon the Latin work in the high school. This is the fault, for example, of that prepared by Meades and published by the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club (Macmillan, 10 cents), which, however, it would be well to consult if a wider choice is desired.

Every Latin teacher should be familiar with the standard school Latin grammars, Allen and Greenough, Bennett, Gildersleeve, Hale and Buck, Harkness, and others; also with the standard school-texts of Caesar, Cicero, and Virgil. It is more difficult to keep one's self informed as to beginning books, for they are so numerous and new ones are constantly appearing. The brief reviews and announcements of new text-books in the classical periodicals may be consulted. Attention is called to the fact that publishers are usually glad to send copies of newly appearing text-books to teachers for examination. As remarked before, the selection given in Bennett and Bristol is judicious but somewhat out of date. The following titles will form a list that will prove adequate for all ordinary high-school work in Latin:

## LEXICON—

*Harper's Latin Dictionary*. New York: American Book Co. \$6.50.

## GRAMMARS—

*Gildersleeve-Lodge* (larger edition). New York: University Publishing Co. \$1.20; or G. M. Lane (revised edition). American Book Co., 1903. \$1.50.

## ANTIQUITIES

*Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (one vol. ed.). New York: American Book Co. \$6.00.

## ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS—

Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (four vol.). London: Rutledge. \$6.00.

W. A. Becker, *Gallus or Roman Scenes in the Time of Augustus*. New York: Longmans, 1876. \$1.00.

Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 2 ed. New York: Macmillan, 1905. \$2.50.

## ARCHAEOLOGY

Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*. New York: Macmillan, 1902. \$2.50.

#### GEOGRAPHY

Ginn & Co.'s or Sanborn's *Classical Atlas*, each \$2.00.

#### HISTORY

The whole period of Roman History is covered in the three following works:

Theodor Mommsen, *History of Rome*, 5 vol. Scribner's, 1903. \$20.00 (to the establishment of the Empire). Same in Everyman's Library, 35 cents a volume, Dutton.

Charles Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, 8 vol. Longman's, 1890. \$10.00. (Early empire.)

Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, edited by Bury, 7 vol. Macmillan, 1896-1902. \$14.00. (Late empire.)

The following small but excellent works will cover nearly the whole period to the Age of the Antonines. The books are published by Putnam at \$1.00 a volume:

Ilne, *Early Rome*.

Smith, *Rome and Carthage*.

Beesley, *The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla*.

Merivale, *The Roman Triumvirate*.

Capes, *The Early Empire*.

Capes, *The Age of the Antonines*.

#### MYTHOLOGY

*Harper's Dictionary of Antiquities* mentioned above will supply most of the information desired. Fairbank, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, Appleton, \$1.50.

#### LITERATURE

McKail, *Latin Literature* (\$1.00), Scribner's, is excellent but brief. Cruttwell, *History of Roman Literature* (\$2.50), Scribner's, is on the whole the most satisfactory for high-school reference purposes.

#### CHARTS

The Cybulski series of colored charts published by Koehier, Leipsic, is exceedingly helpful. They would best be ordered through a local book dealer. The following are those that will interest the Latin teacher.

No. 4. Ships.

No. 5. Roman Arms.

No. 6 and No. 7. Soldiers.

No. 8. Roman Camp.

No. 9. Engines of War.

No. 11. Roman House.

No. 12. Greek Theatre.

No. 13. Actors, Masks, etc.

No. 19 and No. 20. Roman Dress.



# The University of Minnesota

CURRENT PROBLEMS

NUMBER 7

## BULLETIN FOR TEACHERS OF HISTORY

BY

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## PREFACE

The present bulletin is the second to be prepared at the request of the College of Education for the current topic series. The aim of this bulletin, like that of the *Bulletin for Latin Teachers*, is to place before high-school teachers a succinct statement of the problems connected with a specific high-school study, and to suggest some of the more important materials and methods for dealing with the same.

It is hoped that in the near future, it will be possible to present a similar bulletin on each of the major high-school studies. It is desired to make these bulletins of as broad use to teachers in service as possible. Suggestions will be greatly appreciated.

F. H. SWIFT,  
*Secretary of College of Education*

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## INTRODUCTION

This brief bulletin is designed primarily for the teachers of history who are beginning their work. It was prepared at the request of the College of Education. The information is chiefly bibliographical, tho some elementary principles of method are included. The bibliography is not complete, but most of the books mentioned also contain bibliographies so that the more advanced teachers will be able to run down practically all the standard literature on the subject through the works listed here. Books published in this country are listed with the name of the publisher, while books published abroad are listed with the place of publication only. The prices quoted are the list prices of the publishers and do not include postage or express. Most of the books mentioned may be obtained through the special book department of the *History Teacher's Magazine*. Address Dr. A. E. McKinley, 1619-21 Ranstead Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Foreign books may be ordered through the importing firms G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-155 West Twenty-fifth Street, New York, or A. C. McClurg & Co., 330-352 East Ohio Street, Chicago. Frequently the local book dealers are able to obtain the books for you at a saving.



# BULLETIN FOR TEACHERS OF HISTORY

## THE TEACHER'S PREPARATION

### SUBJECT-MATTER

The first requisite for the successful teacher of history is thoro knowledge of the subject. In times past this requirement was sometimes not regarded very seriously. High-school administrators frequently proceeded on the tacit assumption that everyone "knew history" with the result that athletic, forensic, or musical attainments in prospective teachers were sufficient to win them places as teachers of history. Fortunately that time is rapidly passing. Modern high-school executives are keenly aware of the correlation between the teacher's mastery of subject-matter and successful class-room work. They understand the complexity and importance of history and are not inclined to tolerate slipshod, superficial work there. As a result it is becoming increasingly difficult for teachers not trained for the work to obtain positions as teachers of history. Occasionally the situation in particular schools necessitates the teaching of history by a teacher trained for other lines of work. Such a teacher has the unenviable task of "working up" the subject and teaching it at the same time. Probably the most helpful bibliography for such a teacher will be found in the following works:

Andrews, Gambrill and Tall, *A Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries*. Longmans, 1910. Price 60 cents.

*History Teacher's Magazine*. McKinley & Co., 1909. Price \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for members of Historical Association.

The first work, compiled by scholars and teachers, contains a carefully selected list of the best works in English for high-school purposes. Author, date of publication, and price of every book are given. In addition a brief critical estimate of each book appears so that the reader is amply guided in selecting the most useful. For books published since this little bibliography was drawn up, see the bibliographical section of the *History Teacher's Magazine*. This periodical is edited under the supervision of a committee of the American Historical Association and appears ten times a year. It is, for practical purposes, the official periodical of the history teachers, an indispensable part of the teacher's library.



More detailed bibliographies useful for general reference purposes will be found in the following works:

Channing, Hart and Turner, *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History*. Rev. ed., 1912. Ginn & Co. Price \$2.50.

Cannon, H. G., *A Guide to the Study and Reading of English History*. Ginn & Co., 1910. Price \$2.50.

These two works contain comprehensive lists of books, arranged by topics and critically evaluated. The first contains also valuable suggestions for student and teacher. Both are indispensable for the reference library. No similar lists for ancient and European history have as yet appeared. Some help in these fields, however, may be obtained from critical foreign bibliographies, e. g., Herre, Paul, *Quellenkunde zur Weltgeschichte*. Leipzig, 1910. Price c. \$1.25. For a bibliography of bibliographies the following work is still best:

Langlois, C. V., *Manuel de Bibliographie historique*. 2nd ed. Paris, 1901; vol. 2, 1904. Price, \$1.80.

For the teacher who is anxious to obtain an independent basis for judging the value of historical writing as well as to conduct investigations of his own it is advisable to understand the laws by which historians are guided. There are two works on this subject which are generally regarded as the standard:

Langlois, C. V. & Seignobos, Ch., *Introduction to the Study of History*. Holt, 1909. Price \$1.60. Translated from the French edition, which may be obtained for \$1.00.

Bernheim, E., *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode*. 6th edition. Leipzig, 1908. This, the most comprehensive work on the subject, has not yet been translated. Price c. \$4.00.

For beginners, however, one of the following works will serve better as an introduction:

Fling, F. M., *Outline of Historical Method*. Ainsworth, Chicago, 1899. Price 75 cents.

George, H. B., *Historical Evidence*. Oxford, 1909. Price 75 cents.

Vincent, J. M., *Historical Research*. Holt, 1911. Price \$2.00.

Teachers who have inadequate preparation for their subject will find the double task of repairing this deficiency and teaching the subject at the same time extremely difficult if not quite impossible. It would be better for such a teacher to spend another year or two at some university. If this is impracticable, attendance at Summer Sessions will be a good substitute. In the spring of each year the *History Teacher's Magazine* publishes the an-

nouncement of courses offered for the summer by the leading universities of the country. Attendance at these sessions is usually of double advantage. Not only does it enable the teacher to perfect his preparation in subject-matter, but it also throws him into contact with other teachers of the same subject, an association of great value. Somewhat less satisfactory tho very helpful is enrollment in the University Extension courses. These courses are conducted by members of the regular university staff and are offered throughout the year. Detailed information in regard to them may be obtained by writing to Dr. Richard R. Price, Director of University Extension of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

#### ARRANGEMENT OF THE COURSE

The division of history into fields for the successive years of high-school study is the work of the national organization of history teachers and scholars. Committees, consisting of both scholars and teachers, the latter representing all three types of public schools, have made careful studies of the question from time to time. Their reports and recommendations have formed the basis for the present history curriculum in the elementary and high schools and every teacher should be thoroly familiar with the more recent reports, following:

*Report of the Committee of Seven on History in the Secondary Schools.* Macmillan, 1904. Price 50 cents.

*Report of the Committee of Eight on History in the Elementary Schools.* Scribners, 1909. Price 50 cents.

*Report of the Committee of Five on History in the Secondary Schools.* Macmillan, 1910. Price 25 cents.

These reports were all presented originally to the American Historical Association. Members of the Association at the time received copies of the reports without any extra charge, but in view of the large demand for them, they have been published separately. Persons not members of the Association may obtain these reports from the publishers. The Committee of Five was appointed to consider changes in the curriculum as laid down by the Committee of Seven. Their report contains a statement of the problems which have arisen to provoke changes and offers certain suggestions as alternative solutions. Their report is only preliminary. A larger committee was appointed in 1914 to make

definite recommendations. This committee is now at work and welcomes suggestions from teachers all over the country. The question of changes in the curriculum will also be discussed by the history section of the Minnesota Educational Association at the meeting in 1915.

### METHODOLOGY

Many good books have been written on the methods of teaching history. The best introduction to the subject will be found in the reports listed above, particularly the report of the Committee of Seven. For constant aid and suggestion the *History Teacher's Magazine* is indispensable. Of the many books on the subject the following will be found especially helpful:

Johnson, H., *The Teaching of History*. Macmillan, 1915. Exceedingly valuable for practical suggestions and careful bibliography. Has just appeared. Price \$1.40.

Jaeger, Oskar, *The Teaching of History*. McClurg, 1915. Price \$1.00.

Bourne, H. E., *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Secondary and Elementary Schools*. Rev. ed., Longmans, 1915. Price \$1.50.

Wayland, J. W., *How to Teach American History*. Macmillan, 1914. Price \$1.10.

Further references on this subject may be found in the carefully selected list drawn up by a Committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. See the report of this Association for 1915. (See page 19.)

### THE TEACHER'S OUTLINE

It has become a well-established practice among successful teachers to have ready before the year's work begins a complete outline of each course to be taught. Such outlines should not be dependent upon any single text-book but should rather be a logically arranged outline of the subject which may be used in connection with any text. It should contain a carefully detailed analysis of the subject, topical reading references, provision for the use of maps and other illustrative material. Such an outline should be sufficiently flexible to permit its adjustment to whatever text-book is used and should enable the teacher to meet the various interruptions in the continuity of the work which are apt to occur. An outline of this kind can be revised each year as the demands of scholarly progress and the teacher's own experience dictate. The most complete and carefully planned outline for secondary schools is that published by the New England History Teachers' Association, the title of which follows.

More recent syllabi should be used to supplement it. The outline by Professor L. M. Larson and a Committee of the Illinois High School Conference is limited to three fields of history, Ancient, European, and English and is less elaborate than most similar outlines, but is unusually excellent in its choice of topics and in the elimination of non-essentials. The outline of the history course contained in the bulletin of the State Department of Education, while too brief to serve as the teacher's outline, is very suggestive in its brevity. The printed outlines used in connection with the elementary courses in the leading universities should be consulted from time to time for suggestions as to the more recent progress in each field. A few of the more helpful outlines are listed here.

*A History Syllabus for Secondary Schools, compiled by a Committee of the New England History Teachers' Association.* Heath & Co., 1904. Price \$1.20.

*Syllabus of History and Civics for Secondary Schools,* published by the University of the State of New York. Education Department Bulletin. Albany, 1910.

*Syllabus of European History for Secondary Schools,* prepared by Professor L. M. Larson and a committee of the Illinois High School Conference. Champaign, Urbana, 1909. Price c. 25 cents.

*Suggestive Outlines for Study Courses in Minnesota High Schools.* Prepared by a special committee of High School Superintendents. Bulletin 47. Department of Education, St. Paul, 1913.

Detailed outlines of each field of history drawn up by some of the best teachers in the country have been or are being published serially in the *History Teacher's Magazine*.

For syllabi of college courses see the carefully selected list published on the back cover of the *History Teacher's Magazine* under the caption "Books for the Teachers of History." 1913.

For further syllabi, both college and secondary, see the lists in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, December, 1909, and January, 1911 *et passim*.

Almost all of the syllabi contain carefully selected lists of reference books.

## MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY COURSE

## TEXT

A good text book is almost as essential as a good teacher. It occupies so large a place in the high school courses that it should be selected with the greatest care. The work of the freshman year may easily prove a failure because of an unsatisfactory text-book, as many teachers will testify. The same statement is only less true of the succeeding courses. It is not until the last year, or the course in American history, that the teacher can safely depart from the text-book to any very considerable extent. Yet even here the text should serve as the informational backbone of the course for the student. Under the circumstances it is rather necessary for the teacher to make a very careful selection based upon a careful comparison of the better text-books on the market. Three leading considerations should guide the teacher in the choice of the book: (1) Its statements both in fact and expression should meet the approval of the best and most recent scholarly opinion; (2) Its method of presentation should be clear so that the meaning may be grasped by the average student without too much explanation by the teacher; (3) It should fit in easily with the teacher's own training and individual interests. Usually it is better to have the book supplement the teacher's own interests in such a way as to widen the historical horizon for the student. In schools where the equipment of maps and illustrative materials is meager it may also be advisable to consider the auxiliary features of the prospective text as an essential element in the choice. On the first point it will be best for the teacher to consult the reviews of the books in the recognized professional periodicals. On the others it will be well to make a careful personal investigation of the various books regarded as satisfactory. An effort is being made to assemble at the University all the desirable text-books. These will be accessible to any teacher visiting the University and possibly arrangements may be made to loan them temporarily to teachers who are unable to come to Minneapolis. This collection is not yet complete but already contains most of the desirable text-books in each field. In view of the importance of a satisfactory text-book to the success of the teacher, the necessity of making as careful a comparison of all the desirable texts as possible before deciding upon one can not be overemphasized.

## MAPS

## ATLASES

Every high-school library should be provided with at least one good historical atlas. It is desirable to have a sufficient number to afford every student convenient access. This atlas should be most carefully selected for its scholarly qualities, since it must serve as the court of last resort in questions of historical geography. Fortunately for the hurried teacher the number of good atlases is limited. For history in general the following are acceptable:

Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*. Holt, 1910. Price \$2.50.

Dow, E. W., *Atlas of European History*. Holt, 1909. Price \$1.50.

Of the two, the first is more complete, containing maps for the four fields of history. Both are scholarly. The second is sold cheaply enough for many students to purchase.

For schools which can afford additional atlases on special fields of history, the following are probably best:

Longmans' *Classical Atlas*. Longmans. Price \$2.00.

Gardiner, *Atlas of English History*. Longmans. Price \$1.50.

Hart, A. B., *Epoch Maps of American History*. Rev. ed. Longmans. Price 60 cents.

## WALL MAPS

It would be ideal to have in the classroom a complete and scholarly series of wall maps to illustrate every important geographical change as the course proceeded. Lack of funds, however, makes the attainment of this ideal difficult and frequently a school is fortunate if it has one or two such maps for its history classroom. In the latter event the problem of selection is extremely difficult. There are many excellent wall maps, most of the best being of foreign make. If only two or three can be purchased the choice rapidly dwindles down to a question of a physical or contemporary political map. Probably, however, it will be best to select the physical map, for it contains only the relatively permanent geographical features and can therefore be used as well with one period as with another. The political map usually contains too many names of towns and countries, does not show physical features in relief, and shows boundary lines which are soon of value for only one point in time so that con-

fusion is apt to result in using it to illustrate other periods. Probably the best physical maps are:

Kuhnert, Relief-Like Series Physical Map. Price \$6.40 and up.  
 Sydow-Habenicht, Physical Maps. Price \$9.00 and up.

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

W. & A. K. Johnston, Wall Maps in series or separate. \$3.50 and up.  
 Kiepert, *Classical Wall Maps*, 10 maps in series or separate. \$7.50 and up.  
 MacCoun's *Historical Charts, Ancient and Classical*, 18 charts. \$15.00.

#### MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPE

Baldamus-Schwabe Historical Map. \$8.00 and up.  
 Sprüner-Bretschneider, *Historical Maps*, 10 maps. \$6.00 per map.  
 MacCoun's *Historical Charts, Medieval and Modern*, 19 charts. \$15.00.

#### ENGLISH HISTORY

W. & A. K. Johnston, new maps on English History—10 maps. \$2.50 and up.

#### AMERICAN HISTORY

The New Sanford Series. 32 maps, separate \$1.40 each; in chart \$24.00.

Excellent series are also published by Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago.  
 Atkinson, Mentzner & Glover and Silver, Burdette & Co., Boston.

In purchasing maps, the teacher should consider accuracy of detail, clearness and effectiveness of colors, durability and cheapness in the order named. Too much detail, bad colors and fragile mounting mar the value of a map. Where funds are limited it may be well to consider the advisability of getting cheaper maps in order to illustrate more periods in preference to the slower policy of building up a supply of maps of more durable and excellent workmanship.

#### OUTLINE MAPS

In the absence of an adequate series of wall maps much may be accomplished by the teacher with the use of large outline maps. There are on the market large blackboard outline maps on which crayon may be used to illustrate various geographical changes. These maps are mounted and can be rolled up when not in use. Large outline maps on manila paper can also be obtained very cheaply. The disadvantage of being able to use such a map for but one illustration can be somewhat lessened by keeping the map for use in the following year. Blackboard maps may be obtained from either of the following companies:



A. J. Nystrom Co., Chicago, and Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago.  
McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia.

It is usually less expensive to order directly from the publishers, tho for small purchases there is a distinct advantage in placing orders with the nearest agents. Consult the catalogs. *List prices are usually subject to a 20 per cent discount for educational institutions.* The following firms handle maps either as publishers or as agents:

North Western School Supply Co., Minneapolis, Minn. (general agents).

A. J. Nystrom & Co., Chicago (publishers of the Sanford series and agents for W. & A. K. Johnston, Kiepert & Sprüner-Bretschneider).

Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago (publishers and agents).

Silver, Burdette & Co., Boston (publishers of MacCoun charts).

McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia (publishers of outline maps and agents).

Atkinson, Mentzner & Glover, Chicago (publishers of outline maps and agents).

G. E. Stechert & Co., New York (importers and agents for many foreign maps).

#### BOOKS FOR REFERENCE

No less important than a good supply of maps is a carefully selected reference library for the use of the students. If the community is supplied with a good public library it may be possible for the teacher by effective coöperation with the librarian to utilize that without necessitating the additional expense of a large school library. In one place of convenient access or another, however, there should be a carefully selected group of reference books. The number of books will be largely dependent upon the amount of money which the community supplies for the purpose and to a certain extent the selection of books will be dependent upon the same consideration. Such books should be selected not only to supply a more detailed and complete account of the whole field than is afforded by the text-book but also to afford practice in intensive reading for the whole class. The latter necessitates the acquisition of sufficient duplicate copies of certain books. The problem of obtaining the most effective library with a very small fund has received wide attention and lists of books for each field at ten, fifteen and twenty-five or fifty dollars have been carefully drawn up. Many of the recent text-books contain such lists. The Universities of Wisconsin, Indiana, and



Texas also publish lists of this kind which may be procured upon request. A larger selection is afforded by the following bibliographies:

Andrews, Gambrill & Tall, *A Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries*. Longmans. Price 60 cents.

*History Teacher's Magazine*, 1909.

These two works together contain lists of the best books in English for high-school reference purpose, with critical estimates of each book as well as the necessary information of price and publisher. The Magazine also contains notice of books published currently. The select list of the American Library Association, while not drawn up primarily for high-school purposes, is also useful.

A. L. A., *Catalog of 8,000 volumes*, 1904. Price 50 cents.

A. L. A., *Supplement of 3,000 volumes*, 1911. Price \$1.50.

Published by the American Library Association. Address Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., or the American Library Association, 78 East Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois. Public libraries are supplied with the first work gratis.

In the hope of gaining uniformity throughout the state in the matter of intensive reading, a committee of the Minnesota Educational Association, History Teachers' Section, made certain definite recommendations, both as to the periods which should be so studied and the books most useful for the purpose, at the meeting last year. This report has been published as a bulletin of the Winona Normal School and can be obtained upon request.

## DEVICES FOR THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

There is frequently confusion of what are properly the materials of a history course for high-school students and what are purely devices to enable the student to digest those materials. The distinction is very important, for overemphasis on what are merely devices tends to lead both the teacher and students astray. The teacher may find at the end of the year that the students have a smattering of information about outlining, topic-writing, pictures, sources, or games, but have only a superficial knowledge of the history for the study of which they enrolled. Few causes have operated more drastically to impair the efficiency of history teaching in the past five years than this confusion of device and matter. There is something to be said in defense of the high-school principal of a neighboring state who in answering

a questionnaire regarding the methods of teaching history in his school wrote in a spirit of outraged dignity opposite the query, What devices do you employ, "I do not permit my teachers to use any devices." The device should be used sparingly and always with the consciousness that it is but a device. The devices which have come to be regarded as essential factors in the teaching of history may be classified roughly as the outline, the topic, the outline map, the source book, pictured illustrations, and historical fiction.

### THE OUTLINE

As in the teaching of rhetoric and English, so also in history the use of the outline method with the students has become the standard device for cultivating the habit of close analysis of reading matter. The greater average "factual" content of historical works gives the method correspondingly greater importance in history study. The chief object desired by the use of this method is to inculcate in the student the habit of carefully analyzing the historical works he reads. It is also used in reviewing longer or shorter periods of the course to bring out the historical perspective and the logical relationship of the various events. There is relatively slight value in furnishing the students with a complete outline of the course for that robs them of the opportunity to make outlines. Equally questionable is the practice of having the students write out their own outlines of the assignment every day. It is nevertheless one of the most valuable of the devices in use and ordinary exercise of judgment by the teacher should prevent the danger of its overuse. Almost all the books on the pedagogy of history devote some attention to this special method.

### THE TOPIC

The topic or essay so much in vogue with the teacher of rhetoric and English is almost equally useful in the teaching of history. Its purpose is two-fold—to give the student practice in finding information not covered, or inadequately treated, in the text-book, and also practice in assembling such information for effective presentation. Subjects for topical investigation are best selected when in accord with the student's interest. Questions stirred up by class discussion, biographical investigations, military problems and social relationships are usually very interest-

ing. Assignments of such topics should be made by specific chapter or page references to guard against waste of time by the students. Lists of subjects with such references should be on file in the teacher's outline. Some help may be obtained from the more recent text-books which contain suggested topics with specific references. Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature* affords great assistance for recent history. The most effective method for garnering such references, however, is a private card catalog with references culled from the teacher's own reading.

Topics may be presented orally or in writing. In the former case, the subjects should fit in with the class assignment and should be short. If the matter is not merely interesting but also important the other members of the class should be required to note the essential facts. Written topics permit of a wider range both in subject matter and in length. An effective stimulant for good topical work is to reward the best topics in some way. Topics may vary in size from an incident in the life of one of the ancients to an ambitious essay on local history. The teacher should be careful to assign topics according to the maturity and historical training of the student. Furthermore as the topic usually represents some departure from the main-traveled roads of history, the teacher should be careful not to let topical work encroach upon the more important demands of the course.

#### THE SOURCE METHOD

Source books, as such, are an integral part of the reference library, but the source method, so much discussed in the recent works on historical pedagogy, is a device. By the term source, as it is technically used, is meant material most nearly contemporary with the events which it describes—the material to which the historian goes for his most accurate conclusions in regard to those events. This material may be in the form of a contemporary narrative account or in the form of archeological remains. The effective use of such material with high-school classes is necessarily limited. It is impossible for the students to work out a whole course of history from the sources. For the first three fields of history only a small fraction of the source material is written in a language which the student can read, and of the material which has been translated only that done by scholars is usable. The chief use of sources therefore is as illustrative ma-

terial. The mere fact that the student is handling works which are the product of past ages lends a certain zest to the work, vivifying the past for him as can few other devices. In rare instances also a single source contains practically all that we know about certain historical events or matters. In such cases, for instance, Eginhard's personal description of Charlemagne, the source is to be preferred to even the best text-book. Where contemporary histories exist, as is the case in American and Modern English history and in earlier history only with a few excellently translated chronicles, such materials belong in the reference library and should be used in that way. The long-sought aim of giving the high-school student some acquaintance with the historian's method of work can be but partially attained. Only where practically all the sources are available which the historian would use in order to ascertain a fact or series of facts can this be done. Source books which present such an opportunity to the student are few in number and have been published very recently. Some of the problems which confront the historian can be illustrated by well-selected sources. The detection of biased opinions of various kinds can be taught much more clearly from source accounts than from the more subtle works of later investigators. Errors of other kinds also can be detected more clearly in sources so that a very valuable, tho elementary, training in the critical evaluation of written records is afforded the student. Such results, however, are not obtained automatically but require very careful guidance by the teacher and this work should not be allowed to interfere with the pupil's study of the essential matter of the course.

An excellent discussion of the source method, together with a classified list of source books, will be found in the report of a select committee of the New England History Teachers' Association which is published under the title:

*Historical Sources in the Schools.* Macmillan, 1902. Price 50 cents.

Eling, F. M. "A New Kind of Source Book," *History Teacher's Magazine*, April, 1912.

For a selected list of source books for school use see the list entitled:

"Books for the Teacher of History," *History Teacher's Magazine*, 1913.

## OUTLINE MAPS

The device most commonly used in order to fix essential geographical information in the minds of the students is the outline map of so-called desk size. Like the analytical outline and the topic, outline maps have gained a place among the essential elements of history teaching, but there is still great variety in the method of using these maps. In some schools the bound outline map-books are still used, the teachers regarding it as a sacred duty to have the students fill in each outline. In others, only selected maps are purchased when needed. Some teachers still have the students copy maps from atlases or other maps outside of class hours while others have their students bring blank outline maps to class and there fill them in from memory. There are a few teachers who go to the extreme of having their students draw outline as well as detail from memory.

The object of the outline map is to fix geographical information and the teacher's problem is that of gaining the desired result with the smallest expenditure of time and effort. It has been demonstrated too often to require further experiment that students are able to copy maps and color them beautifully outside the class room without seemingly acquiring any geographical knowledge. Such work further consumes much time. On the other hand, the system of drawing maps from memory in the classroom, while it does promote a real knowledge of geography, has the disadvantage of encroaching on the recitation period. This difficulty has been met by some excellent teachers by limiting the number of maps to be drawn and having them all done in class. The plan of having the students draw even the outlines from memory, tho it affords a better knowledge of the outline, does increase the time consumed and should therefore be used only occasionally. If the teacher bears constantly in mind that geographical information and not pretty coloring is the primary object of outline map work and that geographical facts, tho essential are but a fraction of the material to be acquired by the student, there should be little danger of the abuse of this device.

Outline maps of various sizes and for different periods may be obtained from the following firms. It is best to order from catalogs:

The McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Atkinson, Mentzner & Glover, Chicago, Ill.  
Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago, Ill.

### ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

While many other materials are used for illustration purposes this title when used in connection with history teaching refers generally to pictorial material. Statuary and models of various kinds are included in the term. Pictures have long been used in connection with history, but it is only quite recently that their pedagogical value has been extensively exploited. At the present time the chief need seems to be caution against the overuse of pictures. Photographs of historical characters, buildings, monuments, scenes, works of art, art reproductions of various kinds, and imaginary representations of past events are among the more commonly used materials. In size they vary all the way from large wall pictures to postal cards. They are shown framed and hung on the walls, in smaller sizes passed around the class, shown through stereopticons, or thrown upon a screen through lantern slides. Among the general principles which experienced teachers use in showing pictures the following are universally applicable. The pictures are shown, not for themselves but for the purpose of lending vividness to material treated naturally in the course. They are shown, not before or after, but at the point in the course when they illustrate the subject then under discussion. The application of the picture to the lesson is pointed out clearly and explained either by the teacher or by a student. Unless this is done there is great danger that the pupil will focus his attention upon unessential elements in the picture. Pictures should be so shown that the attention of the whole class is centered upon the same picture. This can be done best with a fairly large picture exhibited before the class or by means of lantern slides or reflectographs. If small pictures are shown it is best to have sufficient duplicates for the whole class. A series of pictures, unless their message is unmistakably clear, should not be passed around among the students during class time. Explanation under such circumstances when the students are looking at different pictures or impatiently waiting for the pictures to reach them is largely ineffectual. Considerable time is wasted in addition. Pictures illustrative of current events but indirectly associated with the

subject which the class is studying or a series of pictures shown to satisfy an interest aroused by an individual reference should be posted somewhere in the rear of the room or outside the room where they will not distract the student's attention during the progress of the recitation. Even such pictures have a value, for they usually attract attention, may arouse interest and help to give "atmosphere" to the class work. The same general principles apply to the use of models of various kinds which are used for purely illustrative purposes. One point further should be borne in mind, namely, that it is possible to obtain very satisfactory results in history teaching without the use of any pictorial material whatsoever.

Some idea of the variety of illustrative materials used in connection with history teaching may be obtained from the collection made under the auspices of the New England History Teachers' Association at Simmons College in Boston. Several comprehensive catalogs issued by dealers will serve the same purpose.

*Catalogue of Collection of Illustrative Materials at Simmons College.* Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1912. Price 50 cents.

*Bibliotheca Paedagogica, Verzeichnis der bewahrtesten und neuesten Lehrmittel*—A catalog issued by B. F. Koehler of Leipzig.

*Schulwart-Katalog, ein illustriertes Verzeichnis der besten Lern- und Lehrmittel.* Simon Schropp'sche Landkartenhandlung, Berlin.

*The "A. L." List.* E. J. Arnold & Sons. Leeds, England.

These three foreign catalogs are the most complete lists of illustrative materials for school purposes. Large orders are more satisfactorily obtained directly from the firms. Smaller order can be filled by American importers, e. g., G. E. Stechert & Co., 151 West Twenty-fifth Street, N. Y.

There are now a few carefully selected and accurately made series of historical views designed definitely for use in the history class room.

*Lehmann, Kulturhistorische Bilder*, 2x2 ft. Medieval and Modern History, G. E. Stechert & Co. Mounted on paper. Price 70 cents per picture.

Longmans' *Historical Pictures*—English History. 12 pictures. Price each, 80 cents; in portfolio, \$10.50.

McKinley's *Illustrated History Topics*. McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia. These topics contain syllabus, reading references, outline maps, source extracts and loose leaf note-books as well as pictures.

Art productions may be obtained in various sizes and at prices varying from many dollars to the more commonly used prints



which are sold for one cent. Lantern slides of these and other pictures can be obtained at prices ranging from 25 cents upwards. A list of firms dealing with these types of illustrative materials can be found in the June number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* for 1913. It is well to remember that lantern slides can be made from pictures by many local photographers.

At the present time the University of Minnesota has a collection of catalogs of most of the leading makers of illustrative materials. Teachers have in the past made use of this collection either on visits to the University or by borrowing particular catalogs. Address the Department of History. As soon as possible the University will establish a collection containing types of the most useful materials.

#### HISTORICAL FICTION

It was long a debatable question whether there was any legitimate place in the history course for historical fiction, but recent opinion has turned to the view that under certain circumstances carefully selected historical novels can be made to serve a very helpful purpose. Some historical novels are at the same time good literature and can be employed in both departments. The better novels, based upon close study of the periods with which they deal, afford a more vivid and more detailed view of the age. Students realize as they are unable to do from the reading of political histories alone the "atmosphere" of the times. They "feel" the period. Then, too, these novels are usually more interesting and therefore serve as an artificial stimulant in the pharmacopoeia of the history teacher. But it must be constantly pointed out that historical novels are not history. They can not supplant the text-book and only the best of them should be recommended to the students. Critical lists of such novels will be found in the following books:

Baker, E. A., *History in Fiction*. 2 vols. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1907. Price 75 cents per vol.

Baker, E. A., *A Guide to Historical Fiction*. Macmillan, 1914. Price \$6.00. This is to a large extent a revised and enlarged edition of the preceding work.

A. L. A., *Catalog of 8000 vols.* (see page 10).

A. L. A., *Supplement*.



## NOTE-BOOKS

Something should be said about that much mooted adjunct of work in history, the note-book. Some teachers abhor it as a means of certain death to all interest in history, while others think that the subject can not be effectively taught without a note-book in the possession of each student. That it has a place, however, is now generally admitted. Matters not treated in the text-book but of sufficient value to be preserved until the end of the semester should be filed somewhere. Class notes, including the assignments for the next lesson; maps, brief notes on outside reading, outlines, and other written material which will have a value for reference purposes are all included in this category. Obviously the best method of preserving such a miscellaneous collection of material is by means of some catch-all, either a large envelope or a loose-leaf note-book. The great danger to be avoided is that of demanding too much note-taking. There is little reason, for example, for asking students to take as elaborate notes on an historical novel or the text-book as on an important narrative. The same general principle will apply to other note-taking. Only essential matter useful for further reference should be demanded. The drudgery of writing notes will thereby be largely avoided.

Such catch-all note holders as suggested above can be improvised or loose-leaf note covers can be obtained from dealers in stationery. In the latter case it will be well to study catalogs before making a selection. There are considerable differences in price as well as in durability and effectiveness.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF  
HISTORY TEACHING IN MINNESOTA

Few subjects have so many pedagogical problems still to be solved and are so constantly changing in their material content as the history course. In but a few subjects is it so vitally necessary to keep in touch with the changes in both matter and method which are constantly occurring. Fortunately we have the *History Teacher's Magazine*, to which most of the teachers already subscribe. For the teacher who is just beginning it is best to subscribe immediately. Many of the past issues are still in print

and can be obtained from the publisher, but unfortunately some of the earlier numbers are out of print.

Another publication of great value to the history teacher is the Minnesota Historical Society Bulletin. Local history is the field in which the high-school teacher and students do their most advanced work. It is the place where teacher and community come into most direct contact. The Minnesota Historical Society has recently formulated plans to engage in extensive publication of a kind valuable not only for memorial but also for historical purposes. Membership in the Society enables the holder to receive all the publications without extra charge. In the proceedings of the Society, recently published, a three-volume history of the state by Dr. W. W. Folwell, ex-President of the University of Minnesota, is announced. For information regarding membership in the Society address Dr. S. J. Buck, Superintendent, Minnesota Historical Society, State Capitol, St. Paul.

The two leading scholarly periodicals, the *American Historical Review* and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, appear quarterly. Both may be obtained separately from the publishers but it is generally more profitable to obtain them by taking membership in the Associations. The annual dues of each are three dollars. For this sum the member may not only take an active part in the meetings but also receive the Review. For further information address the secretaries of the Associations, Professor E. B. Greene, Champaign, Illinois, Secretary of the American Historical Association and C. S. Payne, Omaha, Nebraska, Secretary of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

Another suggestion for which there is still room in our state is the value of attending meetings of teachers. There are always some professional matters which reading does not satisfy. Articles provoke questions without affording answers while many little practical problems which occasion difficulties for the beginner are not discussed at all. Such matters are most effectively treated at meetings of history teachers. The Minnesota Educational Association offers one opportunity of which comparatively few teachers avail themselves. The larger associations, the Mississippi Valley and the American Historical Associations, have one meeting annually. Attendance at these latter meetings is often impracticable but attendance at even one such meeting is extremely well worth while. However, it is possible to form local

associations which can meet four or more times each year. The teacher who has questions to ask and the teacher who by experience has increased the efficiency of her teaching in one way or another can meet to mutual advantage. This plan has proved very successful in the Twin City History Teachers' Club and similar organizations can be formed in other parts of the state.

It may be well in closing to point out some of the questions which the history teachers of the country must solve within the next few years.

1. The relation of the various social sciences in the high-school curriculum.
2. The relation of American History and Government.
3. Shall Modern History (since 1500 or 1648) receive a semester or a year?
4. Where shall English History be taught? In what year? Alone, or in connection with Continental History?
5. If Modern History is allotted a year what shall be done with Ancient and Medieval History? Shall they be telescoped into a one-year course or allowed a year and a half as at present?
6. What kind of history shall be taught in connection with vocational subjects?

If you have a well-considered opinion on any of these questions send them to the Committee of the American Historical Association on the High School Curriculum or send them to a member of the History Department of the University. The members of the History Department also will be glad at all times to be of any assistance in their power to the history teachers of the state.

# The University of Minnesota

CURRENT PROBLEMS

NUMBER 8

## BULLETIN FOR TEACHERS OF GERMAN

BY

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MINNEAPOLIS

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## PREFACE

This is the third of a series of bulletins on the teaching of high-school subjects, prepared under the auspices of the College of Education at the University of Minnesota. These bulletins do not undertake to give detailed treatment of special methods or of many other important matters covered in the special methods courses at the University. They are, however, designed to present a summary of the text-books and materials available to teachers of the various subjects. In every bulletin an effort is made to confine the discussion to those problems which confront the beginning teacher and to supply those aids, suggestions, and materials which should be at her disposal in solving such problems.

The *Bulletin for Teachers of Latin* was prepared by Professor Joseph B. Pike, and the *Bulletin for Teachers of History* was prepared by Professor August C. Krey. These and succeeding bulletins may be secured by addressing the Librarian, University of Minnesota, and enclosing the price, 25 cents each.

LOTUS D. COFFMAN

*Dean of the College of Education*



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# BULLETIN FOR TEACHERS OF GERMAN

## METHODS

### CHOICE OF METHOD

Method in teaching is a way of reaching a given end by a rational, sequential arrangement of the facts of a subject and by employing such means as will secure that end in the most effective manner. No sane person will attempt to teach without some method. To become a slave to method, however, is nearly as bad as to use no method at all. We should not seek to teach the student method for the sake of method; we should use method solely as a means, so that the student may thereby acquire knowledge quickly and with understanding.

It should be perfectly obvious that the method of teaching is less important than the teacher himself. A good teacher, even if obliged to use a poor method, can hope for some success; a poor teacher will not succeed with the best method. There is, moreover, no such thing as a perfect method of language instruction, nor indeed any good method that is best for all teachers, all students, and all purposes. A teacher can use successfully only such a method as best fits his training, his knowledge, and his mastery over the language he is trying to teach to others. It is self-evident that a teacher who has an insufficiently fluent command of idiomatic spoken German is at a decided disadvantage in teaching by any oral method. The native-born German, or the American-born of German parents, often lacks a scientific knowledge of German grammar, and is therefore unable to teach with success by the Grammar-Translation Method.

Choice of method should depend to some extent also upon the purpose for which the students in a given class study German. Some desire to obtain only a reading knowledge of German, in order to use it as an aid in other subjects; others desire solely a speaking knowledge. But for the very great majority of students there should be a threefold aim: (1) a more or less fluent command of the spoken tongue; (2) ability to read readily and with understanding without translating; (3) ability to translate accurately into good English. Does any

one question, however, that of these three points the first two are far more important than the third?

#### DIFFERENT METHODS DEFINED

We may speak in general of three different methods of language instruction, tho we often find modifications of each type, and also combinations of the different types.

1. The Grammar-Translation Method, with English as the usual medium
2. The Conversation Method, with German as the only medium
3. The Direct or Reading Method, with German as the medium, except perhaps when teaching composition

The Grammar-Translation Method may employ German to some extent, but it is distinctly not an oral method. The Conversation Method, rightly understood, is altogether an oral method. The Direct Method is distinctly an oral method, but written exercises can and ought to form a part of the grammar drill and of composition lessons.

#### THE GRAMMAR-TRANSLATION METHOD

The object of this method is a double one, drill in Grammar and skill in translation from German into English and from English into German.

It used to be thought that drill in grammar had a great disciplinary value, but modern psychologists no longer admit this. By this method it is possible to obtain a real mastery of a language. But this can not often happen, because of the very fact that the student is forced to learn grammar and not the living language itself. His attention is constantly called to the rules of a literary and grammatically correct language. He reads and knows classic German; the real modern living tongue, the spoken language of the Germans of to-day, he is in danger of never knowing. In consequence, the student comes to know literary German but not the every-day natural idiom.

After nine years of Latin study by this method few Germans can read Latin as Latin, fewer still can speak it. It is significant that in our own country protracted drill in grammar and

composition has not noticeably improved the English of our children.

After a preliminary survey and drill in the essentials of grammatical forms the student is allowed to translate. No one will question the value of the power to translate accurately and with literary finish. But this is just the point where the Grammar-Translation Method, as generally used, fails most miserably of results. The reading matter is used as material for grammatical drill, and when composition is taught it has the same objective. Only after a long period of this drilling is the student permitted to give most of his attention to translating. In the meantime he has lost whatever *Sprachgefühl* he has gained by a more or less perfunctory "conversation exercise" from time to time. He ends by studying German literature, using a German text but reading it and thinking the content in English. He could do nearly as well if he used good translations in the first place.

By this method it is intended to give to students: (a) ability to translate accurately; (b) a better English style by comparing the grammatical structure and syntax of two languages, and by drill in translating into good literary English; (c) a knowledge of German literature, using English as the medium and thus transmitting the cultural value of German letters into English terms for English-thinking minds.

By the Grammar-Translation Method a student can rarely be made to acquire any real mastery of German as a living idiom. He can not hope to enter heart and soul into vital, intimate understanding of German thought and ideals as expressed by the masterpieces of German literature. To obtain such an understanding he must be able to read German as German, to feel "German," as it were, while he is reading it.

#### THE CONVERSATION METHOD

This method, as its name implies, aims to give to students a command of every-day, spoken German by oral drill in German itself. It is mainly a method of imitation, depending for its success upon endless repetition and upon memory. It ignores grammar almost entirely and tends to become more and more, as the work proceeds, a mere learning of phrases. All that the

student acquires in the end is a weak, halting, uncertain, and, most often, very incorrect knowledge of some every-day idioms, phrases, and sentences. By this method, the student certainly gains very little additional power of thinking and is in danger of missing entirely the cultural value of German literary study.

### THE DIRECT OR READING METHOD

The success of the Direct Method is due less to the fact that it is an oral method than to the fact that it places the emphasis upon reading without translating. Professor Walter in his book, *Die Reform des neu sprachlichen Unterrichts auf Schule und Universität*, (Marburg, 1901), gives in a very brief form the essence of the Direct Method, in the following summary of Professor Viëtor's ideas.

"Nicht der tote Buchstabe, sondern das lebende Wort solle in den Vordergrund treten: die neuere Sprache sei nicht an einzelnen unzusammenhängenden Sätzen, sondern am lebensvollen Sprachstoffe zu erlernen und durch das Sprechen und die mündliche Verarbeitung des Sprachstoffes zum festen Eigentum des Schülers zu machen.

"Die Grammatik sei nicht mehr an erster Stelle zu erlernen, sondern habe als Abstraction der Sprache ihr gegenüber zurückzutreten und sei auf inductivem Wege aus dem gewonnenen Sprachstoffe abzuleiten. An die Stelle des bisher üblichen Uebersetzens aus der Muttersprache in die fremde Sprache müsse die freie Behandlung der Sprache wie im Wort, so auch in der Schrift treten.

"Vor allem zeigt Viëtor, wie wenig Wert man bisher auf die Aussprache gelegt habe, ja wie diese nach dem Wort seines Gesinnungsgenossen Prof. Dr. Trautmann in Bonn zum grossen Teil 'grauenvoll' sei, und zeigt uns den Weg eine genaue lautreine Aussprache zu lehren und wie hierbei stets vom Laut auszugehen sei."

If we analyze this statement, the following points stand out as the objectives of the Direct Method:

a. Detached, unconnected sentences, which were the ruling type in our German grammars up to a few years ago, can no longer be defended as pedagogically sound. The Direct Method demands a compact, connected, living, and natural *Lesestück*.

b. This *Lesestück* must form the basis of oral drill, question and answer, with German as the medium. If it is desired to reproduce the *Lesestück* in written exercises (i.e. composition) the student should be allowed to express the thought in a form that is natural and spontaneous. Only then will he express

himself easily and without the restraint which a constant striving to fit his words into an authoritative, grammar-ruled form puts upon him. He will answer in terms of the living German as he has read it and heard it, and not in terms of the grammar.

c. The grammar is not to be studied before reading is begun. From the very first day the student is made to read without translating and the thought content of what he reads is developed into conscious knowledge by means of oral question and answer drill in German. The grammar, however, is not neglected; it is to be taught and learned inductively from the reading text by means of oral question and answer drill. Translation should be resorted to only in case the teacher is certain that this is necessary in order to give the student a clear understanding of a particularly involved or difficult passage in the text that is being read.

#### ADVANTAGES OF THE DIRECT METHOD

1. The student is introduced at once to the language itself. He is forced to understand it and to speak it without first referring to his English, which he will certainly do if he has to think in terms of the grammar.

2. Stress is laid upon a good *Aussprache* from the start. The student can then best secure this because his mind is not confused and muddled by the demand to learn paradigms as such, and vocabularies, with all the vexations of genders and endings. He learns by hearing, by speaking, by writing. In other words, he can think what he reads and speaks and writes. He utters ideas, not forms.

3. He learns grammar as a means to an end, for the most part unconsciously. Drill in grammar does not take first toll of his strength and interest. Because he is forced to think in German, he feels in German. He gets this *Sprachgefühl* naturally, and with it acquires the necessary grammatical forms through actual use in thinking and speaking.

4. It strengthens the initiative of the student and gives spontaneity and pleasure to his mental faculties.

5. The student is first taught to speak of every-day things, but he is very soon ready to enter a wider field, the reading of good literature. No other method introduces him so quickly to reading. He knows this literature through the medium of the

German language; he is not forced to translate. What he reads in German he feels as a German feels it, and he comes therefore to a deeper understanding and to a better appreciation of the best in the literature of the German people.

#### DISADVANTAGES OF THE DIRECT METHOD

1. There is a lack of properly trained teachers with a sufficiently good command of the spoken German. If a teacher can not speak German with ease he should not use the Direct Method entirely; but he should use it as far as he can. The important considerations are these: (a) He should not teach German as grammar, but as German, and (b) he should use German in the classroom as much as he can.

2. In the hands of some teachers the Direct Method tends to become a mere conversation method. It can not be emphasized enough that the Direct Method does not ignore grammar; it insists upon it as an integral and important part of the class work.

3. Many teachers do not realize that they must prepare a day's lesson much more carefully if they teach by the Direct Method than if they use the Grammar-Translation Method. In consequence one finds in the teaching in many schools a poor, haphazard, and illogical kind of questioning. All too often the teacher does most of the talking.

4. There is some difficulty in finding enough well-graded and interesting material in the text-book market. Nearly all publishers of German school-texts are, however, beginning to publish Direct-Method texts, so that abundant material will soon be at hand.

5. If care is not taken, the student's knowledge of grammar will lack system and coördination. This can be corrected by giving an out-and-out grammar lesson from time to time. But this should be done only after the student knows his grammar facts through inductive drill. A grammar lesson, as such, is intended to explain and to systematize what he already knows, not to teach him new grammar points. It is important that the student should be made to understand that this sort of a grammar exercise is a special class exercise and not the regular routine.



## HOW TO TEACH BY THE DIRECT METHOD

Most American teachers will modify the Direct Method in actual practice, and this is perfectly proper if it is done with common sense. Good teaching is in essence nothing more or less than applied common sense. Let the teacher make a study of the technique of Direct-Method beginning books. Such books are advertised by all the leading publishers of German text-books. The teacher should read also one or more of the treatises on methodology. A list of the best of these will be found in the bibliography under The Direct Method, page 8. Especially recommended is Max Walter's *German Lessons*. This is a record of his work while Visiting Professor at the Teachers' College of Columbia University.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST

GENERAL. History of modern language instruction and bibliographical reference books.

Handschin, *The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States*. U. S. Bureau of Education *Bulletin No. 13*, Series for 1913. Washington: Government Printing Office. Worth owning. Contains a good bibliography. (A supplementary bibliography may be found in the *Monatshefte für Deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik*, 1914, p. 332.) \$0.15.

Breul, *Handy Bibliographical Guide to the Study of German*. London: Hachette & Company. 1895. Contains an extensive bibliography, tho somewhat out of date.

Viereck, *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutschen Unterrichts in den Vereinigten Staaten*. Braunschweig. 1903.

"Modern Languages," in *Monroe's Encyclopedia*.

## THEORY AND PRACTICE

The most important reference books under this heading are the following:

Bagster-Collins, *The Teaching of German in Secondary Schools*. New York: Columbia University Press. The Macmillan Company. 1911.

Bahlsen, *The Teaching of Modern Languages*. Boston: Ginn & Company.

Breul, *The Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages and the Training of Teachers*. Cambridge [England]: University Press. 1909. (Putnam.)

Jespersen, *How to Teach a Foreign Language*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908.

Other valuable books are the following:

Bloomfield, *The Study of Language*. New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1914.



Brebner, *Method of Teaching Modern Languages in Germany*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1904. 3rd ed. Valuable for its bibliographical lists of publications in Germany.

*Methods of Teaching Modern Languages*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Company. 1893. A series of essays by noted American educators.

*Report of the Committee of Twelve of the Modern Language Association of America*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Company. This report should be in the hands of every teacher of modern languages. \$0.16.

#### THE GOUIN METHOD

This is an important subject, because upon this method is based much of the theory and practice of the so-called Conversation Method and of the Direct Method.

Gouin, Francois, *L'Art d'enseigner et d'etudier des langues*. Paris. This book may be obtained in an English translation by Swan and Betis under the title, *The Art of Teaching and Studying Languages*. London: Scribner. 1892.

Kron, *Die Methode Gouin oder das Serien-System*. Marburg. 1900. This book may be obtained also in English translation. Marburg: N. G. Elwert.

The books of F. Thémin, principal of the Gouin Schools in London, may be obtained through Brentano, New York, or McClurg, Chicago.

#### THE DIRECT METHOD

Viëtor, *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren*. Heilbronn. 1905. This is the book that started the movement known as the *Reform Methode*, or Direct Method.

——— *Die Methodik des neusprachlichen Unterrichts*. Leipzig. 1912.

Walter, *Die Reform des neusprachlichen Unterrichts auf Schule und Universität*. Marburg. 1911.

——— *Zur Methodik des neusprachlichen Unterrichts*. Marburg.

——— *German Lessons. A Demonstration of the Direct Method in Elementary Teaching*. New York: Scribner. 1911.

To give here all the articles in the various periodicals that might be helpful or of interest would extend this bibliography beyond the purpose of this bulletin. A teacher who desires to make a special study of methods will find extended bibliographies in the books above, under the caption General.

## PRONUNCIATION

No one questions the importance of a good pronunciation, and experience has shown that this must be secured at the very beginning of the study of a language, otherwise the teacher will be confronted by the far more serious problem of getting his student to unlearn a bad pronunciation which has become fixed through habit.

After all, it is the teacher himself who is the best model and the best instrument of instruction. The use of a phonograph or similar talking machine is open to very serious objections, not the least of which is the impossibility of securing good records. Such an instrument is too mechanical to imitate successfully the intonation and the varying sentence stress of the natural voice. Furthermore, it is not every student who has an ear keen enough to imitate the sound he merely hears, and such a machine can never take the place of the teacher whose lips can be seen, and who can explain and show the position of the tongue while making any particular sound.

The teacher, then, must be able to pronounce correctly. He must know what is standard German and what is dialectic. Upon points like final "g," he must be inflexibly consistent, and not vary his pronunciation from word to word.

A knowledge of phonetics is indispensable to the teacher, not because he must teach it to the class, but that he may have a check upon his own pronunciation and be able to keep his own accent pure. How much use of the science of phonetics the teacher should make in the classroom depends upon the age of the students. The younger these are the less should they be taught the terminology and the principles of phonetics. But wherever imitation fails to produce the desired result in the teaching of any sound, the teacher should explain in a clear, simple and practical way how such a sound is made. Strict observation of the lips and the voice of the teacher on the part of the student, and vice versa, should be a matter of course. All too often the teacher is satisfied with a mere explanation or with the student's reproduction of the sound for the moment,

and is not sufficiently insistent upon a correct reproduction every time a mistake is made. Often poor hearing of either teacher or student is responsible for bad pronunciation. Very often the teacher does not articulate distinctly. It is not so necessary that the teacher speak slowly as that he speak distinctly and plainly. Many helpful suggestions on how to teach pronunciation may be found in the books listed below.

#### STANDARD GERMAN

Siebs, *Deutsche Bühnenaussprache*. Berlin. 11th ed. 1912. Urgently recommended. \$0.70.

*Bühnenaussprache*. 2nd ed. 1901.

*Grundzüge der Bühnenaussprache*. A smaller edition of the above. Berlin-Köln-Leipzig: Ahn. 1900.

Viëtor, *Aussprache des Schriftdeutschen*. Leipzig. 8th ed. 1911. Very valuable. \$0.40.

——— *German Pronunciation*. Leipzig. 1909. \$0.50.

Grandgent, *German and English Sounds*. Boston: Ginn & Company. Very useful. \$0.50.

Douden, *Orthographisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Leipzig-Wien. Should be in the hands of every German teacher. \$0.40.

#### PHONETICS

Hempl, *German Orthography and Phonology*. Boston: Ginn & Company. 1897. Highly recommended. \$2.00.

Viëtor, *Kleine Phonetik*. 7th ed. Leipzig.

——— *Elements of Phonetics*. London: Rippmann. 1899. A translation of the *Kleine Phonetik*. Highly recommended.

——— *Elemente der Phonetik*. 5th ed. Leipzig. 1908. A standard treatise.

——— *Deutsches Aussprachewörterbuch*. Leipzig. Very valuable. \$3.50.

Prokosch, *German Phonetics and German Language*. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*. Leipzig. 1901. A standard treatise for advanced study.

Herrmann, *Technik des Sprechens*. Leipzig. 1903.

#### HOW TO TEACH PRONUNCIATION

Viëtor, *Wie ist die Aussprache des Deutschen zu lehren*. Marburg. 1906. \$0.15.

Oberländer, *Uebungen zum Erlernen einer dialektfreien Aussprache*. Munich. 1901. Suggestive and helpful.

Consult also the books given under The Direct Method, page 8.

#### CHARTS FOR TEACHING SOUNDS

*Deutsche Lauttafel. System Viëtor*. Marburg: E. G. Elwert. With

explanatory pamphlet. 3 ft. by 4 ft. 3 in. The same chart on small card for 5 cents: these are for the student.

*Rauschs Lauttafeln für den Sprachunterricht.* Marburg: E. G. Elwert. For German, Series I, 20 charts: price about \$8.00. Series II, for French and English, 6 supplementary charts. Both series cost about \$10.00. These charts can be obtained on small cards, the whole series for about 60 cents.

Zund-Burguet, *Die menschlichen Sprachwerkzeuge.* A wall chart showing the organs of speech. With explanatory pamphlet. \$2.00.

## GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION

### GRAMMAR

The student has a right to expect a thoro drill in grammar for the purpose of using the knowledge thus gained to give him the ability to read, write, and speak German with a reasonable degree of accuracy and self-confidence.

Without a knowledge of grammar, progress beyond a certain point of proficiency in the use of very simple, ordinary, everyday expressions is difficult, if not entirely impossible. Without a knowledge of grammar the student is forced to rely almost entirely upon his memory, and he can never be entirely certain that he is correct in what he says, writes, or reads. There is often a subtleness of meaning and a refinement of thought in what he reads that he is in danger of never wholly understanding, or in what he wishes to say or to write that he finds himself unable to express.

It is equally important that the student should not be taught grammar for the mere sake of the grammar. He should know the facts and rules of the grammar and of syntax, but more than this, he should be so taught that he will acquire and use these more and more unconsciously. In other words, grammar should be so taught that the student gradually makes it a part of his mental equipment, so completely his own that he need rarely think of grammar as grammar, but will use it almost as naturally and as unthinkingly as when he expresses himself in his mother-tongue. Grammar should be for him not a body of rules and principles to which he must constantly refer; it should become for him of the very woof and warp of the language itself, something inseparable from it.

The teacher will find it difficult to give to students, at least to the major portion of his class, such a knowledge of grammar and such a power of using it, and this very fact ought to make him take the teaching of grammar all the more seriously. One great mistake in the teaching of language, as we find it in school after school, is this very fact that grammar is taught as something apart from the language, so that it becomes for the stu-

dent something distinct and separate. Such grammar instruction does not help,—it actually hinders,—progress in acquiring the language. To follow a text-book, lesson for lesson, is never enough; for a text-book, no matter how well it is made, is a lifeless instrument. It is the teacher who must make grammar live.

The inductive teaching of the grammar, as used in the Direct Method, is more difficult for the teacher than the deductive procedure of the Grammar-Translation Method. There is always danger that the Direct-Method teacher will teach grammar rather indifferently; that he will in the end become more and more a Conversation-Method teacher, neglecting the grammar for the sake of the oral work. It is indeed a difficult problem to decide how much or how little grammar should be taught the first year.

There are also other important problems connected with the teaching of grammar. Many valuable hints and suggestions will be found in the books listed under the caption, *Theory and Practice*, page 7, which should guide not only the teacher's own practice but determine his selection of a proper text-book for his class. Helpful also is a comparative study of the best of the books for beginners.

That the teacher should himself know the grammar goes without saying, but for the help of those who feel the need of reference books on the subject, a list is given below, page 14.

## COMPOSITION

Composition, that is, formal and extended exercises in translating from English into German, should not be given until comparatively late in a student's course, certainly not much before the second year.

Composition exercises, elementary and advanced, should be based upon reading material already worked over in class by way of oral exercise,—at least for the first two years. Its aim should be, not to acquaint the student with new and additional grammatical facts, but to test his knowledge of grammar already acquired, and his ability to use this knowledge in a practical way.

Exercises of short, detached sentences, with little or no logical connection, should by no means be wholly avoided. It

is only too true that this type of exercise has fallen into disrepute because in the past it has been used so much as a mere drill in vocabulary and grammar, with all else disregarded or neglected. But such exercises have a distinct value if used properly and not too often. Generally speaking, however, the connected, natural narrative should be the standard form of composition exercises. If taught purely for grammatical drill, there is great danger that any *Sprachgefühl* which the student may have acquired will be lost.

The many and difficult problems connected with composition will be found discussed in the books listed under Theory and Practice, page 7. See also the article by Koller, "Methods of Teaching Prose Composition," in the February and March numbers, 1914, of the *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik*. He gives there, also, a short bibliography of books on the subject.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST

##### REFERENCE GRAMMARS FOR TEACHERS

Curme, *Grammar of the German Language*. New York: The Macmillan Company. The best treatise in English on the subject. A valuable book for the teacher's own library. \$3.50.

Behaghel, *Short Historical Grammar of the German Language*. Translated by Trechmann. London. 1891. (Macmillan.)

Wright, *Historical German Grammar*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1907.

Lyon, *Handbuch der deutschen Sprache für höhere Schulen*. Leipzig. 1891.

Sütterlin, *Die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart*. 3rd ed. Leipzig. 1910. Valuable.

Useful and valuable are the more extended chapters or parts of such school grammars as:

Thomas, *Practical German Grammar*. Revised. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

Joynes-Meissner, *German Grammar*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Company.

Whitney, *A Compendious German Grammar*. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

##### HELPFUL AND RELATED BOOKS

von Jagemann, *Elements of German Syntax*. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

Grunow, *Grammatisches Nachschlagebuch. Ein Wegweiser für jedermann durch die Schwierigkeiten der deutschen Grammatik und des deutschen Stiles.* Leipzig. 1905.

Sanders, *Wörterbuch der Hauptschwierigkeiten in der deutschen Sprache.* Langenscheidt. Berlin-Schöneberg. 1908. Highly commended.

Wessely, *Deutscher Wortschatz. Grammatisch-stilistisch-orthographisches Handwörterbuch.* Gotha: Schmidt. 1912. Very helpful.

Hastings, *Studies in German Words and their Uses.* Boston: D. C. Heath & Company. 1911. Suggestive on building up of vocabularies.

Walter, *Die Aneignung und die Verarbeitung des Wortschatzes.*

Taker and Roget, *German Idioms.* New York: The Macmillan Company.

Lambert, *Handbook of German Idioms.* New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1910.

Wilkins, *German Idioms.* Minneapolis: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1901.

The following dictionaries are also useful for grammar reference:

Eberhard-Lyon, *Synonymisches Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* Leipzig: Grieben.

Douden, *Orthographisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* Leipzig-Wien.

Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* Strassburg: Teubner.



## PRACTICE IN SPEAKING

First-year books, as a rule, contain sufficient material for ordinary class work in oral drill. The lessons in nearly all such books have as their object, however, not only oral drill but also the acquisition of grammatical forms and principles. Only the very experienced teacher should ever undertake to conduct a class without a text-book to guide him. It is not always necessary that the text-book should also be in the hands of the students. Indeed, it is a good idea, provided the teacher is capable of so doing, not to let the class have a book at all for the first few weeks; but in such a case the teacher may well keep in mind the preliminary lessons of the text-book he intends later to give his class.

After the student is able to read easily material more or less literary in character, or reading matter that has been put together with a pedagogical purpose but which is more extended in scope than the earlier reading, and has also greater freedom of expression and some pretense to literary style, there comes a time when exercises more largely conversational in purpose become desirable. Good reading material upon which to base conversational work is furnished by such text-books as those listed under "Land und Leute," page 18, books that were made for this very purpose. But the teacher should use care in the selection he makes, for these books are not all of the same grade of difficulty, or equally valuable.

Supplementary to all such reading material, and at almost any stage of the student's progress, is the proper use of what is known as "*Anschaunungs-material*." This consists of wall charts depicting scenes of German life, pictures, post cards, lantern slides, and the like. Valuable also is the playing of games and the learning and presentation of short plays. Singing of German songs and recitations strengthen the memory and help the pronunciation, if properly directed. All such devices doubtless help to create that subtle thing we call "German atmosphere," and if entered upon with zeal and enthusiasm, and under careful direction by the teacher, do create interest and draw the student away from the humdrum monotony of daily drill in the text-

book lessons. When far enough advanced, the student can be set to reading various books on "Land und Leute" and be asked to make reports orally or in writing of what he has read. See list of books below under "Land und Leute," page 18.

Suggestions and advice on this subject may be obtained in the Theory and Practice. Allen's *Hints on German Conversation*, (Ginn & Company, Boston), will be found useful. It costs ten cents.

#### SOME "DON'TS" FOR THE TEACHER

Don't do most of the talking yourself. Give the students a chance.

Don't confine yourself to questions and the students to answers.

Don't expect your class to talk on subjects for which it does not possess a fair command of the necessary vocabulary.

Don't make your questions monotonous. Bring variety into your work.

Don't let your questions be haphazard. See that there is a logical sequence, a purpose, and an aim.

Don't ask questions that can be answered by a simple "yes" or "no." This form of questions will be necessary at the very beginning so that the student may imitate the teacher, by turning a simple question into a declaration form, but should not be used after the first few weeks.

Don't kill the initiative and spontaneity of your students by requiring an answer in just such-or-such a form.

Don't let your class lapse into English. Keep the students so busy with rapid-fire questioning that they will not have time to think in English.

How to question is one of the most difficult matters for the average teacher to learn and some of the class-room work in this particular is disheartening. A study of the Gouin method (see list of books on page 8), comparisons of text-books, and a fair measure of common sense should help the teacher.

## ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

## LAND UND LEUTE

## GENERAL

Most of these books are too expensive for the student to buy, but they are valuable books for the school library.

Baring-Gould, *Germany, Past and Present*. 2 vols. London. 1879. Tho not up-to-date, this book contains much that is interesting and valuable.

Dawson, *Germany and the Germans*. 2 vols. London: Chapman & Hull.

——— *German Life in Town and Country*. New York: Putnam.

Collier, *Germany and the Germans*. New York: Scribner. 1914.

King, *Three Free Cities*. Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton.

Kron, *Bilder des Deutschen Lebens und Wesens*. Karlsruhe. 1905.

Schultz, *Deutsches Leben im 14ten und 15ten Jahrhundert*. Illustrated. Prag-Leipzig. 1892.

Grueber, *Myths of Northern Lands*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1902.

——— *Stories of Wagner Opera*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Dickie, *In the Kaiser's Capital*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Schauffler, *Romantic Germany*. Illustrated. New York: Century Company. 1909.

Bartley, *The Rhine from its Sources to the Sea*. 2 vols. Illustrated. Philadelphia: J. C. Winton Company.

Müller-Bohn, *Des Deutschen Vaterland*. 2 vols. Stuttgart. 1913.

Sedgewick, *Home Life in Germany*. Illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1908.

*Land und Leute, Monographien zur Erdkunde*. Profusely illustrated. (Thüringen, Tirol, Oberbayern, Harz, Rhein, Schwarzwald, Nordseeküste, Ostseeküste, Berlin, Dresden, etc.) Each set about \$1.20.

Vellhagen und Klasing, *Volksbücher*. A series similar to the *Land und Leute*, but very cheap and of course not so good. Each *Volksbuch*, about \$0.15.

Degener, *Wer ist's*. Leipzig. The German "Who's Who."

To this list may be added such American text-books as the following:

Bacon, *Im Vaterland*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

——— *Vorwärts*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 1915.

Holzwarth, *Gruss aus Deutschland*. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

Mosher, *Willkommen in Deutschland*. D. C. Heath & Company.

Allen, *German Life*. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

## ILLUSTRATED AND OF HISTORICAL INTEREST

*Das Kaiserbuch. Acht Jahrhunderte deutscher Geschichte.* Berlin: Muckenberg.

*Die eiserne Zeit vor Hundert Jahren. 1813-15.* Leipzig: Siwinna.

*Germania, Zwei Jahrtausende deutsches Lebens.* Union Verlagsgesellschaft. Berlin: Stuttgart.

## STORY AND LEGEND

*Walhall, Götterwelt der Germanen.* Berlin: Oldenburg.

*Urvaterhort, Heldensagen der Germanen.* \*Berlin: Oldenburg.

Jensen, *Der Schwarzwald.* Leipzig: Amelangs Verlag. 1901.

*Thüringer Wald.* Berlin: Skopnik.

*Deutsche Volkstrachten.* Leipzig: Bach Verlag.

## POSTCARDS, PHOTOGRAPHS, PICTURES

Write for catalogs and make inquiries of the following firms. Most of them have post cards from five cents up, also prints and more expensive pictures.

Berlin Photographic Company, 305 Madison Ave., New York. American agents for the Berlin Photographische Gesellschaft.

Jones-Keyser Company, 142-146 West 24th St., New York. American agents for the Neue Photographische Gesellschaft, Berlin.

Atkinson, Mentzer & Company, 318 West Washington St., Chicago. American agents for B. G. Teubner of Leipzig. Send fifteen cents for a list of "*Künstlersteinzeichnungen*," a large series of reproductions of paintings. These are excellent for school decorations.

The Art Institute of Chicago publishes a number of colored prints and post cards of masterpieces of art.

Georg. D. W. Callwey, Munich, Germany, has a fine series of "*Meisterbilder*" that cost about ten cents each.

## WALL PICTURES, CHARTS, FOR CONVERSATION DRILL

These can be obtained through such firms as G. E. Stechert, New York, and Atkinson, Mentzer & Company, Chicago.

*Hoetzel's Anschauungsbilder.* Large wall chromolithographs, some twenty in number. They cost about \$1.50 each. The subjects are Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, The Farm, The Mountain, The Forest, The City, The Home, The Harbor, and a number of cities, such as Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin. Some of these charts are published in book size for home study by the student. They are folded into pamphlets containing vocabulary and conversation drill on each picture. Such a pamphlet costs about fifteen cents.

*Hirt's Anschauungsbilder.* A series similar to the above, consisting of some eight pictures: Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, Mountains, Forest, City, Harbor. These can be had in book size, the whole series together for about twenty cents.

*Hei-Spekter Märchen Bilder.* Made by Perthes, Gotha. Very artistic. Good for school decoration. Each \$0.60.

*Lehmanns Kulturhistorische Bilder.* These are small pictures, about 24 by 30 inches. They number about twenty-five and are mostly on medieval subjects. In colors and very artistic.

The catalogs of the following firms are especially helpful:

B. G. Meinhold Söhne, Dresden.

B. G. Teubner, Leipzig.

F. E. Wachsmuth, Leipzig.

R. Voigtländer, Leipzig.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

Catalogs of various German firms can be secured and articles desired can be bought direct or through:

G. E. Stechert & Company, New York.

A. J. Nystrom & Company, Chicago.

Write for catalogs to

K. F. Kochler, Leipzig (Bibliotheca Pädogoea, Verzeichnis der bewährtesten Lehrmittel).

F. Volkmar, Leipzig.

Dr. Oscar Schneider, Leipzig.

B. G. Teubner, Leipzig.

Simon Schropp'sche Landkarten-Handlung, Berlin.

Send twenty-five cents to the National German-American Teachers' Seminary, Milwaukee, Wis., for list of recommended illustrative material.

#### MAPS AND CHARTS

Inquiries can be made and maps ordered through Rand, McNally & Company, Chicago and New York, and A. J. Nystrom & Company, Chicago. Excellent map-makers are the following:

##### GEOGRAPHICAL MAPS

Richard Kiepert, Berlin.

Justus Perthes, Gotha.

Richard Andree, Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing.

##### HISTORICAL MAPS

Kühnert, Spruner-Bretschneider, and Ed. Gaebler are especially recommended.

##### MAPS FOR WILHELM TELL

Vogt and by Rein.

##### MAPS FOR JUNGERAU VON ORLEANS

Teetz.

## LANTERN SLIDES

Most German stereopticon firms deal also in lantern slides. Catalogs will be sent upon application, in most cases gratis. Among the best German firms are:

Dr. Franz Stödtner, Universitätsstrasse 3, Berlin.

ICA Actien Gesellschaft, Dresden.

Unger & Hoffmann, Dresden.

The following American firms also sell slides or are prepared to make them to order:

McIntosh Stereopticon Company, Chicago, Ill.

T. H. McAllister Company, 49 Nassau St., New York City.

Underwood & Underwood, New York City.

Williams, Browne & Earle, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

A large and valuable number of slides are offered for sale by Anna Bernkopf, 503 West 121st St., New York City. Write for list.

The very best way to secure such a collection as one may want is to have the slides made from selected illustrations. Good slides can be made from illustrated post cards, from pictures, photographs, and illustrations in books and periodicals.

Good reliable slide makers are to be found in nearly all of the larger cities. Write for estimates to the following:

Miss Margaret Sheridan, 89 S. 10th St., Minneapolis.

George B. Swain, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Prof. F. J. Menger, 1346 Grand Ave., St. Paul, Minn.

## GAMES

Most card games and toy games are too juvenile for high-school students. Address inquiries to W. R. Jenkins, New York; G. E. Stechert, New York; A. C. McClurg, Chicago. Holtzermann's Chicago Store, 417 Cedar Ave., Minneapolis, has many German games and toys at Christmas time.

Almost any English game can be played in German: such as Game, Fish, or Fowl; Charades, etc.

## SONGS

The number of song collections of one kind or another is almost endless. It is well to consult the dealer of music publications. The most popular and serviceable collections made for American schools are the following:

*Deutsches Liederbuch für Amerikanische Studenten.* Boston: D. C. Heath & Company. Highly recommended. \$0.75.

Walter Krause, *German Songs*. New York: Scribner. \$0.50.

The best German collections are the following:

*Schauenbergs Allgemeines Deutsches Kommerzbuch*. Lahr: Germany. This is a standard student collection and contains 850 songs with the melodies only.

*200 Lieder aus dem Lahrer Kommerzbuch mit Klavierbegleitung*. Lahr: Germany. This contains two hundred songs of the Schauenberg Kommerzbuch. \$1.50.

A number of American text-books contain some songs with the music:

Bacon, *Im Vaterland*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Has about twenty songs.

Schlenker-Juergensen, *Deutsche Gedichte*. Minneapolis: Northwestern School Supply Company. Contains about twenty songs, with music.

Wenckebach, *Die schönsten deutschen Lieder*. Contains about twenty songs, with music.

Burkhard, *Poems for Memorizing*. New York: Henry Holt & Company. Ten songs with music.

#### PLAYS FOR ACTING

In selecting a play for presentation by a class, the teacher should consult not only the histrionic abilities of his students, but also their ability to use the German of the play intelligently. Some plays are better fitted for more advanced students and should not be forced upon less advanced ones. Probable interest in the plot and the effectiveness of a play when acted are also important considerations. Purely "literary" plays should be avoided.

Benedix, *Haustheater*. 2 vols. Leipzig: J. J. Weber. 1891. This excellent collection contains 46 plays; 43 are of one act each, 3 are of two acts each. Of the plays in this collection, a number have been published separately by American book firms. These plays cost from 25 to 35 cents each.

*Nein*. D. C. Heath & Company.

*Der Prozess*. D. C. Heath & Company, Henry Holt & Company.

*Die Hochzeitsreise*. D. C. Heath & Company.

*Günstige Vorzeichen*. (In Well's *Drei kleine Lustspiele*.) D. C. Heath & Company.

*Eigensinn*. (Published with *Einer muss heiraten*.) Henry Holt & Company.

*Der Dritte*. Henry Holt & Company.

*Plautus und Terenz. Sonntagsjäger*. Published in one book. D. C. Heath & Company.

Other good plays of one or two acts follow. These cost from 25 to 40 cents each.

Elz, *Er ist nicht eifersüchtig*. D. C. Heath & Company.

Wells, *Drei kleine Lustspiele*: Benedix, *Günstige Vorzeichen* and *Der Prozess*. Wilhelmi, *Einer muss heiraten*. D. C. Heath & Company.

Hervey: Benedix, *Der Prozess*. Fulda, *Unter vier Augen*. Henry Holt & Company.

Hervey: Wilhelmi, *Einer muss heiraten*. Benedix, *Eigensinn*. Henry Holt & Company.

Rosen, *Ein Knopf*. Henry Holt & Company.

Moser, *Der Schimmel*. Henry Holt & Company.

Manley and Allen, *Four German Comedies*. Rosen, *Ein Knopf*. Moser, *Ein amerikanisches Duell*. Müller, *Im Wartesaal erster Klasse*. Pohl, *Die Schulreiterin*. Ginn & Company.

Moser, *Der Bibliothekar*. D. C. Heath & Company.

Wichert, *Als verlobte empfehlen sich*. D. C. Heath & Company.

*Short German Plays*. Clarendon Press. Series 1 costs 50 cents, series 2, 60 cents.

F. Diederik, *Theaterstücke für Dilettanten Bühnen*. *Flugschrift No. 3 des Dürerbunds*. Munich: Georg. D. W. Callwey. Contains a number of good suggestions.

There are a number of *Märchendramen* of more or less doubtful value. See catalogs and make inquiries of G. E. Stechert or W. R. Jenkins Company, New York.



## WHAT TO READ

First year or beginning books on the Direct-Method plan usually have reading material for the first year at least, but for the sake of variety and the encouragement of the students it is well to use also some suitable text consisting of short stories or a longer short narrative. A so-called reader can be used acceptably in place of this, especially if the beginning book is based on the Grammar-Translation Method.

In either case the choice of reading material should be dictated by some or all of the following considerations:

1. The text selected should not be more difficult, or only a little more difficult, than the reading lessons in the beginners' book. It is folly to try to read anything the student is not prepared to undertake.

2. The vocabulary should be carefully considered. It should not contain too large a number of words, or words that are not in common every-day use. As the student advances into the upper years this consideration becomes less and less important, but it should carry great weight in the first two years.

3. Only books really worth-while should be considered. The time is too short to waste a student's efforts on trash. We should aim to give the student something beyond the mere language, something that has educative and cultural value.

4. The probable interest of the student is of prime importance, for a dull book makes a dull class in spite of all the best efforts of a good teacher. The age, maturity of mind, home environment, and the average cultural standard of the entire class must be taken into account. Not all stories are equally interesting to boys and to girls.

5. The length of the story is important. For the beginner a number of short stories is best, and in advanced classes the text of not over one-hundred pages is to be preferred. The students simply tire of a long story which must be read piece-meal.

6. The story should be in real German and written preferably by a German. Only a very few of the constructed story-texts have proven worth while.

7. In general, fiction or drama is most likely to furnish the

best reading material; but history and biography may well find a place in a course of more than two years.

8. Poetry should not be neglected; that is, collections of short poems and of ballads. The latter lend themselves to oral work. A fair amount of poetry and of songs should be memorized. Often such pieces are among the most cherished possessions of a student in later years when he has all but forgotten what he was taught in school.

9. The reading of the so-called classics should be deferred as long as possible. Before the student is ready to read them he should have had a great deal of prose reading, possess a good command of a fairly comprehensive vocabulary and a firm knowledge of German forms and syntax. If students have to read *Wilhelm Tell*, the very best classic for early reading, by painfully translating it little by little, with a constant appeal to the dictionary, they are not ready for it.

10. Under no condition should the text selected be one that the teacher himself has not read with care and with an eye to its suitability for the particular class for which a text is sought. Most of the mistakes in selecting texts arise from the fact that the teacher has chosen by title, or because of the author, or on somebody's advice. Indeed, it is always a good idea to re-read a text before selection, if one's impression as to its difficulty and availability is not clearly remembered.

11. It is a mistake to read only one kind of material, such as short stories. As in other things, variety is the spice of life.

12. The sequence of texts in a course of two, three or four years should also weigh in the selection of a text for any particular stage or year. It is not necessary that this plan be so specific that every text must be determined beforehand, but a general plan having as its aim a graded sequence, variety, and progress in educative and cultural value, should be clearly in the teacher's mind. American text-book publishers have in their catalogs made graded lists of texts for the respective years for which their books are best suited.

The leading publishers are the following:

Allyn & Bacon, Boston.

American Book Company, New York.

Ginn & Company, Boston.

D. C. Heath & Company, Boston.

Henry Holt & Company, New York.

The Macmillan Company, New York.

C. E. Merrill Company, New York.

Oxford University Press, Scribner, New York.

Scott, Foresman & Company, Chicago.

Helpful also are the lists in "*Zur Jugendschriftfrage*," Leipzig, 1903, a report of the Vereingte deutsche Prüfungsschüsse für Jugendschriften.

## DICTIONARIES

### A. FOR STUDENT USE

#### GERMAN-ENGLISH ENGLISH-GERMAN

*Bellow's New German-English and English-German Dictionary.* New York: Henry Holt & Company. \$1.75.

*Heath's German Dictionary.* (The Cassel's German Dictionary.) Boston: D. C. Heath & Company. \$1.50.

*James's Dictionary of the English and German Language.* New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.00.

*Langenscheidt's Taschen Wörterbücher.* English-German, 1 vol.; German-English, 1 vol. Berlin: Schöneberg. Small print but clear. Excellent. The two volumes together, \$1.00. Single volume \$0.60.

*Muret-Sanders' Enzyklopädisches Wörterbuch der englischen und deutschen Sprache. Hand und Schulausgabe.* Langenscheidt. Berlin: Schöneberg. 1909. Highly recommended. This is a smaller edition of the dictionary of the same name given below. \$2.50.

*Whitney's Compendious German and English Dictionary.* New York: Henry Holt & Company. \$1.50.

#### GERMAN-GERMAN. All the definitions given in German.

*Sanders Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* Leipzig. 1910. \$2.50.

*Venns Deutsches Wörterbuch.* Leipzig: Bergner. 1905. Good tho small. \$0.75.

### B. FOR TEACHERS AND THE LIBRARY

*Flügels Allgemeines Englisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Englisches Wörterbuch.* 3 vols. Braunschweig: Westermann. 4th ed. 1908. A standard work. \$12.00.

*Grieb-Schröer Englisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Englisches Wörterbuch.* 2 vols. Menter-Verlag. Berlin: Schöneberg. A standard work. Old spelling. \$4.50.

*Muret-Sanders Enzyklopädisches Wörterbuch der englischen und deutschen Sprache. Grosse Ausgabe.* 2 vols. Langenscheidt. Berlin-Schöneberg. The best of all German-English dictionaries. \$10.00.

Wiegands *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. 5th ed. Gießen: Topelmann. 1909. A standard, and highly recommended.  
*Brockhaus Konversations-Lexikon*. 16 vols. Leipzig.

### C. FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES

The following serve special purposes, as is indicated by their titles. All are highly recommended.

*Dudens Orthographisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Leipzig-Wien: Should be owned by every teacher. \$0.40.

*Eberhard-Lyons' Synonymisches Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Leipzig: Grieben. \$3.50.

*Kluges Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Strassburg: Trubner. 8th ed. 1914. \$1.50.

### \* D. TECHNICAL DICTIONARIES

*Egers Technologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 parts. Braunschweig: Brandes.

*Lang's German-English Dictionary*. Philadelphia: Blakiston. A dictionary for students of science and medicine. \$4.00.

## REFERENCE BOOKS ON GERMAN LITERATURE

### A. GENERAL HISTORIES OF GERMAN LITERATURE

#### WORKS OF ONE VOLUME

All of these are of almost equal value and all are standard works.

Francke, *History of German Literature*. New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1908. This is not a chronological or biographical account, or a survey of individual authors and writings, but an appreciative and excellent presentation of the social significance of literary epochs at different periods. The book should be in every school library.

Hosmer, *History of German Literature*. New York: Scribner. 1911.

Priest, *Brief History of German Literature*. New York: Scribner. 1909.

Robertson, *History of German Literature*. New York: Putnam. 1908. Rather detailed for high-school students, but an excellent reference book. Should be in the school library.

——— *Outlines of the History of German Literature*. Putnam. This is an excellent student edition of Robertson's *History of German Literature*.

Thomas, *German Literature*. New York: Appleton & Company. 1909.

Vögtlin, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*. Zürich: Schulthess & Company. 2nd ed. 1913. One of the best of the shorter histories.

#### WORKS OF MORE THAN ONE VOLUME. All standard works.

Bartels, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*. 2 vols. Leipzig.

Meyer, J., *Einführung in die deutsche Literatur*. 6 vols. Berlin. 1909. Extensive, but one of the most valuable reference works. It contains sources, critiques, and analyses of all the most important literary products of German writers. Should be in the school library.

Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*. 2 vols. Berlin. Also translation by Conybear. 2 vols. Oxford [England]: Clarendon Press. A standard work, tho not brought down to date.

Vogt und Koch, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*. Illustrated. 2 vols. Leipzig and Vienna. 3rd ed. 1910. One of the best books for general reference.

#### B. HISTORIES OF NINETEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

Biese, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*. 3 vols. Munich: Beck. 1907.

Brandes, *Die Hauptströmungen der Literatur des 19ten Jahrhunderts*. From the Danish. 2 vols. 6th ed. Leipzig. 1899.

——— *Main Currents in 19th Century Literature*. An English translation of the above. London. 1901-05. This is a general history of the world's literature, but contains excellent chapters on German literary movements in the nineteenth century.

Gottschall, *Deutsche National Literatur des 19ten Jahrhunderts*. 2 vols. Breslau. 1901.

Kummer, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des 19ten Jahrhunderts*. Dresden: Reissner. 1911. Up-to-date and very highly recommended for the school library.

Meyer, R. M., *Die Deutsche Literatur des 19ten Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Bondi. 1912.

#### C. ANTHOLOGIES

Collitz, *Selections from Classical German Literature*. Oxford Press. 1914.

Müller, Max, *German Classics from the Fourth to the Nineteenth Century*. 2 vols. New York: Scribner.

Thomas, *Anthology*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Company. 1914.

#### D. HELPFUL BOOKS

Boyeson, *Essays in German Literature*. New York: Scribner.

Francke, *German Ideals of Today*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

Hillebrand, *German Thought*. New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1880.

Japp, *German Life and Literature*. London.

Nollen, *Chronology and Practical Bibliography of Modern German Literature*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Company. 1903.

Taylor, *Studies in German Literature*. New York: Putnam. 1902.

Krüger, *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Biographisches und Bibliographisches Handbuch mit Motiven-Uebersichten- und Quellennachweisen*. Munich: Beck. 1914.

Könneke, *Bilderatlas zur Geschichte der Deutschen National Literatur*. 1675 illustrations. Marburg. 1912. Contains reproductions of photographs of leading authors, of manuscript pages and pages of first editions, and other interesting and valuable material. An excellent book for the school library.

Degener, *Wer ist's*. Leipzig. The German "Who's Who."

#### E. THE CLASSIC WRITERS

##### LESSING

Rolleston, T. W., *Life of G. E. Lessing*. Great Writers Series. London. 1889.

Sime, J., *Lessing*. 2 vols. London. 1890.

Schmidt, E., *Lessing: Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Schriften*. 2 vols. Berlin. 1892. A standard work.

Stahr, A., *G. E. Lessing. Sein Leben und seine Werke*. 9th ed. Berlin. 1887. Also translation in English by E. P. Evans. Boston. 1866.

##### GOETHE

Boyeson, *Goethe and Schiller*. Scribner. 1907. Excellent. Should be in the school library.

Lewes, *Life of Goethe*. London. 4th ed. 1890.

Sime, *Life of Goethe*. London. 1888.

Bielschowski, *Goethe, sein Leben und seine Werke*. 2 vols. Munich. 15th ed. 1909.

——— *The Life of Goethe*. Translation by Cooper. 3 vols. New York: Putnam. 1908. A standard work.

Heinemann, *Goethe*. 2 vols. Leipzig. 3rd ed. 1909. A standard work.

Meyer, R. M., *Goethe*. 2 vols. 3rd ed. Berlin. 1905. A standard work.

##### SCHILLER

Boyeson, *Goethe and Schiller*. Scribner. 1907. Excellent. Should be in the school library.

Nevison, *Life of Schiller*. London. 1887.

Thomas, *Life and Works of Schiller*. New York: Henry Holt & Company. The best English biography. Should be in the school library.

Minor, *Schillers Leben und Werke*. 2 vols. (Incomplete.) Berlin. 1890. A standard work.

Kühnemann, *Schiller*. Munich. 1905.

——— *Schiller*. Translation by Royce. 2 vols. Ginn & Company. Excellent.

Wychgram, *Schiller*. Leipzig. 5th ed. 1906. Profusely illustrated. Very valuable on account of the illustrations.

Palleske, *Schillers Leben und Werke*. Stuttgart. 1891. 13th ed. A standard work.

——— *Schiller's Life and Works*. Translation into English by Lady Wallace. London.

## REFERENCE BOOKS FOR GERMAN HISTORY

## GENERAL

Henderson, *History of Germany*. 2 vols. The Macmillan Company. 1906. Popular and interesting. Also shorter, one-volume edition of the above. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Kohlrausch, *History of Germany*. Translated by Haas. New York: Appleton & Company.

Holland, *Germany*. Making of the Nation Series. Illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Lewes, *A History of Germany*. Based on Müller's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*. American Book Company.

Müller, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*. 18th ed. Berlin. 1902.

Menzel, *History of Germany*. Translated from the German. 3 vols. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Sime, *History of Germany*. New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1875.

Müller, *History of Recent Times*. With special reference to Germany. New York: Harper. Excellent. Only from 1815 to 1880.

Bigelow, *History of the German Struggle for Liberty*. 4 vols. New York: Harper. Takes up only the first half of the nineteenth century.

Priest, *Germany since 1740*. Boston: Ginn & Company. 1914.

## RELATED BOOKS

Baring-Gould, *Germany*. 2 vols. London. 1879. Out of date, but valuable in parts.

Collier, *Germany and the Germans*. New York: Scribner. 1914.

Burt, *The German Empire*. Illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Dawson, *Germany and the Germans*. 2 vols. London: Chapman & Hull.

Dawson, *The Evolution of Modern Germany*. New York: Scribner.

Francke, *German Ideals of Today*. Boston and New York.

Hillebrand, *German Thought*. New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1880.

Müller-Bohn, *Des Deutschen Vaterland*. Illustrated. 2 vols. Stuttgart. 1913.

Schauffler, *Romantic Germany*. Illustrated. New York: Century Company. 1909.

See also books listed under Land und Leute, page 18.

## THE SELF-IMPROVEMENT OF THE TEACHER

The teacher who does not constantly seek to improve his methods of instruction and to increase his knowledge of the subject he is teaching is blind to his own best interests and disloyal to the highest ideals of his profession. As far as time and means allow he should make use of some, if not all, of the avenues of progress open to him.

1. He should possess in his own library some representative books dealing with methods, history of German literature, political history of Germany, and a few, at least, dealing with German life, institutions, and customs.

2. He should take some technical journal for teachers of modern languages. See list on page 32.

3. He should lay out for himself, if possible with the advice of some one more expert than himself, a course of reading and intensive study.

4. Membership and an active interest in the meetings of the modern language section of the State Educational Association can serve him by giving him a chance to exchange ideas and to learn from the experiences of others.

5. He has the right to become a member of the Modern Language Association of America, the Teachers' Alliance, and other national organizations.

6. Summer study can be carried on at a number of American universities. In making his choice of a college or university for summer work, he should be guided by the character, the kind, and the number of courses offered, and by the personnel of the department. In other words, he should have a definite idea as to what he wants or needs to study. Excellent training can also be obtained at such a school as the German-American Teachers' Seminary in Milwaukee, Wis.

7. Study abroad for a year or more is highly desirable. If an extended stay in Germany is not possible, a summer can be spent there with profit. For those who do not possess a fluent command of spoken German, it is best to go abroad with some study-party under competent teacher-guides, or to



spend most of the time at a summer session of one of the German universities.

### TRAVEL-STUDY CLUBS

Boston Travel Society, 601 Boylston St., Boston.

Bureau of University Travel, Trinity Place, Boston.

A number of University of Minnesota graduates have reported very favorably on their experience with travel-study parties organized and conducted by Professor Charles H. Stomberg, University of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

In reputable American journals there are always a number of advertisements of other travel-study clubs. It is, however, always a wise measure to investigate thoroly before joining.

### SUMMER SESSIONS ABROAD

Summer sessions are offered at a number of German universities, such as Jena, Marburg, Freiburg-in-Baden. For statement of courses, fees, etc., write to the *Sekretariat der Ferienkurse* of the respective universities. The summer semester of all German universities begins late in April and lasts until the first of August, so that, if it is possible to get an earlier start from America, it is feasible to spend the major portion of a regular semester at any German university. The *Vorlesungsverzeichnis* can be obtained at small cost from any importer of German books.

### JOURNALS

#### A. FOR THE TEACHER

JOURNALS LARGELY MORE PROFESSIONAL THAN LITERARY AND PHILOLOGICAL.

*Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik.* Monthly. National Deutschamerikanisches Lehrerseminar, Milwaukee, Wis. Highly recommended. \$1.50 a year.

*Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht.* Monthly. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. \$5.00.

*School Review.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Has many articles of interest to the teacher of German. \$1.50.

*Modern Language Teaching.* London, England. Official organ of the Modern Language Association of England.

*Die neueren Sprachen.* Marburg.

*Modern Language Notes.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. Contains reviews and lists of recent books. Recommended. Eight numbers a year. \$2.00.

*Breymann-Steinmüller: Neusprachliche Reform-literatur.* Published once in about every four years. Contains an exhaustive bibliography and articles on the latest ideas and movements in modern language teaching. Four volumes have so far appeared. Leipzig: A. Deichert.

#### LARGELY LITERARY AND CRITICAL

*Literaturblatt für Germanische und Romanische Philologie.* Monthly. Leipzig: Riesland. Valuable criticisms and reviews. Bibliography of recent books. \$4.00.

*Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift.* Heidelberg. Valuable articles and lists of recent books.

*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literatur.* Quarterly. Braunschweig: Westermann. \$5.00.

*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.* Quarterly. Berlin: Weidemannsche Buchhandlung. \$6.50.

*Modern Language Review.* Cambridge [England]: University Press.

*Euphorion.* Quarterly. Vienna: Fromme. 5 marks a number.

*Die Deutsche Rundschau.* Berlin: Geb. Paetel. \$10.00 a year.

*Die Neue Rundschau.* Gross-Lichterfelde: Paul Zollmann. \$9.00 a year.

*Das literarische Echo.* Berlin: Fleischel & Company. \$5.00.

#### B. FOR STUDENTS

*Aus Nah und Fern.* Chicago: F. W. Parker School Press. 50 cents a year, club rate 40 cents.

*Der gute Kamerad* (for boys) and *Das Kränzchen* (for girls). Stuttgart und Berlin: Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt. \$2.00 each per year.

#### C. FOR STUDENT USE IN THE LIBRARY

*Die Woche.* Berlin. Popular; illustrated. \$2.00 per year.

*Ueber Land und Meer.* Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags Anstalt. \$5.50 a year.

*Die Gartenlaube.* Leipzig: E. Keils Nf. August Scherb. Long one of the most popular of German family papers. \$4.00 a year.

*Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung.* Recommended. \$9.00-\$10.00 a year.

#### D. AMERICAN GERMAN DAILY PAPERS

*Die New Yorker Staatszeitung.* New York.

*Illinois Staatszeitung.* Chicago.

*Volkszeitung.* St. Paul.

*Herald.* Minneapolis.

## THE LIBRARY

Even a small library, properly equipped with periodicals and books for reference and outside reading, can be used to stimulate interest and to promote scholarship. The selection of books, especially if only a small amount of money is available, is very difficult; but the time and energy the teacher expends upon this will repay itself many times, provided always that the teacher sees to it that the books are used. Books, no matter how good they may be, are worse than useless if they are merely given a place upon the library shelves.

The right kind of teacher will not need to drive his students to the library. If he really loves his work and has that kind of enthusiasm that stimulates others, his students will want to read in the library and at home. If, however, he desires the student to secure the most benefit for time and effort expended, the teacher must also direct the reading of his students. He should himself know what a book contains, and whether it is the right kind of book for a particular student and serves the purpose for which the student is to read it. Do not let a student have a book that is beyond him in difficulty of language or in thought content. Do not make outside reading a task; make it a pleasure.

The library should contain one or more periodicals of a kind and character that will benefit the greatest number. To order a magazine that is of interest and benefit to the teacher only is selfish, if not dishonest to the best interests of the school and to the community that pays the bills. Choice of illustrated periodicals is strongly recommended, but the illustrations should be worth while, dealing for the most part with *Land und Leute* and with current events. For a suggestive list of such journals see the list of journals for student use on page 33.

The library should contain one of the larger dictionaries, not so much that the student may use it for ordinary study purposes as that he may have a source of information when his own smaller dictionary or the vocabulary in his text-book does not suffice.

Reference books should consist of a representative number

of such books as are listed under *Land und Leute*, page 18, History, page 30, and Literature, pages 27 and 28.

Books of a strictly literary nature should be selected with the purpose of supplying first the real needs of the course of study, and not until that has been done should books be considered that will also serve the community in which the school is situated.

Below is a suggestive list of standard works. The range of difficulty and the fitness of any one book for the class and the community must be left to the judgment of the teacher. It may seem to some that the works of the classic authors and also a list of more modern writers should have been included. But this also will be left to the teacher who takes a proper interest in his own reading. Above all things do not buy trashy books. That is an unpardonable waste of money and only harms the school. The list below contains only books of recognized literary merit and most of them can be bought for a very small sum of money.

## BOOKS FOR THE LIBRARY

### A. COLLECTIONS OF STANDARD WORKS

The collected works of any single author will rarely be desirable unless the school library is also the community library or there is otherwise a demand for such readings. Bibliographies containing lists of such works can be found in the catalogs of publishers and importers of German books.

*Kürschners Deutsche National Literatur*. Leipzig. This is a large and representative collection of the best writings in German literature, but no modern authors are represented. Separate volumes can be secured. Inexpensive. For the list write to any importer of German books.

*Reclames Universal-Bibliothek*. Leipzig. This is a very serviceable collection of standard works. Separate volumes can be bought for from 10 to 40 cents, paper binding. For the library it is best to buy the board binding. This increases the cost by very little. For list write to any importer of German books.

### B. COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES

FOR YOUNG STUDENTS, first year and first half of second year.

Wenckebach, *Aus meiner Welt*. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

Guerber, *Märchen und Erzählungen*. 2 vols. Boston: D. C. Heath & Company.

Bernhardt, *Novelleten Bibliothek*. 2 vols. Boston: D. C. Heath & Company. More difficult than the two preceding.

FOR MORE ADVANCED STUDENTS, third and fourth years.

*Heyse-Kurz Novellenschatz.* Eighty-six stories in twenty-four volumes. Berlin: Globus Verlag. The list of stories can be secured from any importer of German books. Each volume can be bought separately. Inexpensive.

*Heyse-Laistner Neuer Novellenschatz.* 24 vols. Berlin: Globus Verlag. A collection like the preceding. Each volume can be bought separately. Inexpensive. Get the list from any importer of German books.

#### C. SEPARATE WORKS

Many of the works listed in the following may be found in one of the two collections previously listed under B on page 35. A large number of them have also been published as textbooks by American firms. The majority are inexpensive.

Those marked \* are elementary. Those marked † are either difficult or long. The others are best adapted for students in the last half of the second year and in the third year.

#### STORIES

Anderson, \**Bilderbuch ohne Bilder*

Arnim, †*Der tolle Invalide*

Arnold, *Fritz auf Ferien*

Auerbach, †*Auf der Höhe.*

——— †*Barfüßele*

——— *Brigitta*

——— †*Diethelm von Buchenhag*

——— †*Eidelweiss*

——— *Joseph im Schnee*

Anzengruber, †*Der Schandfleck*

——— †*Der Sternsteinhof*

Baumbach, *Das Habichtsfraulein.*

——— *Märchen*

——— \**Nicotiana*

——— *Die Nonna*

——— *Der Schwiegersohn*

——— \**Sommermärchen*

Brentano, *Geschichte vom braven Kasperl und dem schönen Annerl*

——— *Das Märchen von Gockel, Hinkel und Gackeleia*

Blüthgen, *Das Peterle von Nürnberg*

Chamisso, †*Peter Schlemihl*

Dahn, †*Bissula*

——— †*Felicitas*

——— †*Gelimer*

——— †*Kampf um Rom.* (Can be had abridged. Heath & Company.)

## STORIES—(continued)

- Droste-Hülshoff, *Die Judenbuche*  
 Ebers, †*Eine Frage*  
 ——— †*Homo Sum*  
 Ebner-Eschenbach, *Freiherren von Gemperlein*  
 ——— *Das Gemeindekind*  
 ——— *Lotti die Uhrmacherin*  
 ——— *Die Unverständene auf dem Dorfe*  
 Eckstein, *Der Besuch im Karzer*  
 ——— †*Die Claudier*  
 Eichendorff, *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*  
 Fontane, *Grete Minde*  
 ——— †*Vor dem Sturm*  
 Fouqué, †*Undine*  
 Frennsen, †*Jörn Uhl*  
 ——— †*Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest*  
 Freytag, †*Ingo*. (Can be had abridged. The Macmillan Company.)  
 ——— †*Rittmeister von Altrosen*  
 ——— †*Soll und Haben*. (Can be had abridged. Ginn & Company,  
 or Heath & Company.)  
 ——— †*Die Verlorene Handschrift*. (Can be had abridged. The  
 Macmillan Company.)  
 Frommel, *Eingeschnitten*  
 ——— *Mit Ränzel und Wanderstab*  
 Ganghofer, †*Edelweisskönig*  
 ——— †*Der Herrgottschnitzer von Aemrgau*  
 ——— †*Der Laufende Berg*  
 ——— †*Tarantella*  
 Grillparzer, *Der arme Spielmann*  
 Grimm, \**Kinder und Hausmärchen*. (Should be obtained in the sim-  
 plified text.)  
 Halm, *Marzipan-Lise*  
 Hauff, *Das kalte Herz*  
 ——— *Die Karavane*  
 ——— †*Lichtenstein*. (Can be had in an abridged text. D. C.  
 Heath & Company, or Henry Holt & Company.)  
 ——— *Der Mann im Monde*  
 Hauff, *Sheik von Alessandrien*  
 ——— *Das Wirtshaus im Spessart*  
 ——— *Der Zwerg Nase*  
 Heyse, *Anfang und Ende*  
 ——— *Die Blinden*  
 ——— *Die Hochzeit auf Capri*  
 ——— *L'Arrabbiata*  
 ——— *Das Mädchen von Treppi*  
 ——— *Niels mit der offenen Hand*  
 ——— †*Stiftsdame*  
 Hillern, †*Geier-Wally*

## STORIES—(continued)

- *Höher als die Kirche*  
 ——— † *Und sie kommt doch*  
 Hoffmann, † *Das Fräulein von Scuderi*  
 ——— † *Meister Johannes Wacht*  
 ——— † *Meister Martin der Kufner*  
 Jensen, *Die braune Erica*  
 Keller, *Dietegen*  
 ——— *Die drei gerechten Kammacher*  
 ——— *Das Fühnlein der sieben Aufrechten*  
 ——— *Kleider machen Leute*  
 ——— *Legenden*  
 ——— *Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe*  
 Kinkel, *Otto der Schütz*  
 Kleist, *Das Erdbeben in Chile*  
 ——— † *Michael Kohlhaas*  
 ——— *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*  
 Kurz, † *Weihnachtsfund*  
 Lilienkron, *Anno 1870*  
 Ludwig, † *Heilerethei*  
 ——— † *Zwischen Himmel und Erde*  
 Marlitt, † *Goldelse* (For girls)  
 ——— † *Heideprinzesschen* (For girls)  
 ——— † *Reichsgräfin Gisela* (For girls)  
 Meyer, *Gustav Adolfs Page*  
 ——— *Der Heilige*  
 ——— † *Jürg Jenatsch*  
 ——— *Der Schuss von der Kanzel*  
 Möricke, *Das Hutzelmännlein*  
 ——— † *Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag*  
 Raabe, *Else von der Tanne*  
 ——— *Eulenpfingsten*  
 ——— *Die schwarze Galeere*  
 Riehl, *Burg Neideck*  
 ——— *Der Fluch der Schönheit*  
 ——— *Meister Martin Hildebrand*  
 ——— *Die vierzehn Nothelfer*  
 ——— *Das Spielmannskind*  
 Rosegger, † *Försterbuben*  
 ——— *Holzknecchthaus*  
 ——— *Der Lex von Gutenhag*  
 ——— † *Schriften des Waldschulmeisters*  
 Scheffel, † *Ekkehard*  
 ——— † *Der Trompeter von Säckingen.* (In verse)  
 Schiller, *Der Geisterseher*  
 Schubin, † *Wenn's nur schon Winter wär'.*  
 Schücking, \* *Die drei Freier*  
 Seidel, *Leberecht Hühnchen*

## STORIES—(continued)

- Spielhagen, † *Allzeit voran*  
 ——— † *Hammer und Amboss*  
 Spyri, \* *Moni der Geisbub*  
 Stifter, *Brigitta*  
 ——— *Hagestolz*  
 ——— *Das Haidedorf*  
 ——— *Zwei Schwestern*  
 Storm, *Auf der Universität*  
 ——— \* *Geschichten aus der Tonne*  
 ——— \* *Imensee*  
 ——— *Karsten Kurator*  
 ——— *Pole Poppenspüler*  
 ——— *Der Schimmelreiter*  
 ——— *In St. Jürgen*  
 Sudermann, † *Es war*  
 ——— † *Der Katzensteg*  
 ——— † *Frau Sorge*  
 Sylva, Carmen, *Aus meinem Königreich*  
 Tieck, *Der blonde Eckbert*  
 ——— † *Der Gelehrte*  
 ——— † *Die Gemälde*  
 ——— *Die schöne Magalone*  
 ——— † *Des Lebens Ueberfluss*  
 Viebig, † *Das tägliche Brot*  
 ——— † *Das schlafende Heer*  
 Wildenbruch, *Das edle Blut*  
 ——— *Der Letzte*  
 ——— *Kindertränen*  
 Zschokke, † *Das Abenteuer der Neujahrsnacht*  
 ——— † *Der tote Gast*  
 ——— *Der zerbrochene Krug*  
 ——— *Das Wirtshaus zu Cransac*

## PLAYS

See also the list under Plays for Acting, page 22.

- Anzengruber, † *Pfarrer von Kirchfeld*  
 ——— † *Das Vierte Gebot*  
 Freytag, † *Die Journalisten*  
 Fulda, *Der Dummkopf*  
 ——— † *Der Talisman*  
 ——— *Sieben Einakter*  
 Grillparzer, † *Die Ahnfrau*  
 ——— † *Das goldene Vliess*  
 ——— † *Lahassa*  
 ——— † *Sappho*  
 ——— † *Der Traum ein Leben*  
 Gutzkow, *Uriel Acosta*



## PLAYS—continued

——— *Zopf und Schwert*Halm, *Sohn der Wildnis*——— *Griseldis*Hauptmann, †*Armer Heinrich*——— †*Einsame Menschen*——— †*Elga*——— †*Das Friedensfest*——— †*Hanneles Himmelfahrt*——— †*Die Weber* (Not the dialect version)——— †*Die versunkene Glocke*Hebbel, †*Agnes Bernauer*——— †*Gyges und sein Ring*——— †*Herodes und Mariamne*——— †*Maria Magdalena*——— †*Die Nibelungen*Kleist, †*Das Käthchen von Heilbronn*——— †*Prinz von Homburg*Laube, *Karlschüler*Ludwig, †*Erbforster*Sudermann, †*Es Lebe das Leben*——— †*Johannes*——— †*Johannesfeuer*——— †*Heimat*——— †*Morituri* (Three one-act plays: *Fritzchen*, *Teja*, *Das**Kriegsmännchen*)

## POETRY

Arnim-Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*Baumbach, *Frau Holde*——— *Krug und Tintenfass*Eichendorff, *Gedichte*Freiligrath, *Gedichte*Fulda, *Gedichte*Heine, *Buch der Lieder*. *Romanzero*Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Gedichte*Körner, *Leier und Schwert*Rückert, *Gedichte*Schenkendorf, *Gedichte*Uhland, *Balladen und Romanzen*

Nearly all the above can be had in the Reclame Universal-Bibliothek for a small sum each. A number of text-books offer good collections.

Buchheim, *Balladen und Romanzen* (Golden Treasury Series. The Macmillan Company.)

——— *Deutsche Lyrik* (Golden Treasury Series. The Macmillan Company.)

Burkhard, *German Poems for Memorizing*. Henry Holt & Company.

## POETRY—(continued)

Hatfield, *Lyrics and Ballads*. D. C. Heath & Company.

Klenze, *Deutsche Gedichte*. Henry Holt & Company.

Mueller, *Deutsche Gedichte*. Ginn & Company.

Schlenker-Juergensen, *Deutsche Gedichte*. Minneapolis: Northwestern School Supply Company.

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G. E. Stechert & Company, 155 W. 25th St., New York. (Books, maps and all illustrative materials, charts, cards, etc.)

W. R. Jenkins Company, 851 6th Ave., New York. (Books, illustrative material.)

McClurg & Company, Chicago. (Books.)

Lemcke & Buechner, 812 Broadway, New York. (Books.)

A. J. Nystrom & Company, 623 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago. (Maps, charts, illustrative material.)

Ritter & Flebbs, 120 Boylston St., Boston. (Illustrative material.)



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## ECONOMIC ADDRESSES

BY

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THE ETHICS OF BUSINESS





## THE ETHICS OF BUSINESS

The following address was prepared for and used as one of a series of lectures offered by the University Extension Department of the University of Chicago, in the winter of 1905. It was given in Des Moines, Iowa; Kansas City and St. Joseph, Missouri; Saint Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota. It was later delivered before various audiences.

For a discussion which must close before bedtime, a speaker may not follow the example of Diedrich Knickerbocker, who began his famous History of New York with the creation of the world. We are obliged to assume that some things have been settled. I will ask that these four be so assumed:

First, the institution of private property; second, the right and duty of organized society to control that institution; third, the advantages, individual and social, of the division of labor; fourth, the advantages, individual and social, of exchange. These granted, it is evident, or will be after a little reflection, that at some time in the social evolution the trader must appear.

Before the trader, however, came the market. The researches of Sir Henry Maine and others have revealed the origin of the market, for the Aryan or Indo-European family of mankind at least. Within those primitive village communities into which our remote ancestors were grouped, the exchange of products was merely a matter of neighborly accommodation. This man had fish, a kinsman had game, to spare. They exchanged. Both were gratified; neither thought of an advantage gained over the other. Doubtless custom, which in primitive communities stands for law, moderated the trifling transactions.

Exchanges, however, arose between adjoining communities and a custom grew of resorting to convenient gathering places on the common border line—the *mark* they called it. Here on the mark—the *market* came to be held at customary times and seasons. Here the dealings were no longer those of fellow tribesmen, but of strangers; and, among all primitive men, stranger and enemy were the same. To get the better of the bargain was not merely allowable, it was meritorious. Unmitigated competition was the rule of the market, and absolute title passed to every article which changed hands.

"The general rule of law [the common law of England], is that all sales and contracts of any thing vendible in fairs and markets overt,

[that is, open], shall not only be binding between the parties, but also be binding on all those that have any right or property therein."<sup>1</sup>

But, the gathering of the clans for purposes of barter could not continue indefinitely. That meant the suspension of industry, absences from home, and weary marches. It meant great loss of time and anxiety while demanders waited on the market for suppliers who should possess the specific goods desired, and themselves be wanting the articles offered by the parties of the first part. Long delays occurred while the parties were pairing off and often the sun would go down on many who had waited in vain.

Plato in his *Republic* has perfectly described the remedy for such a state of things.<sup>2</sup> The merchant—the marketman—appeared. Pitching his tent or booth at some ford or cross-roads he announced himself as a general receiver and distributor of commodities. Had he come bare-handed his advertisement would have been mere wind. He did not come empty-handed. He brought two bags, which gave him a power beyond that of any magician—a bag of money, and a bag of weights and measures. Standing behind his pile of coin, with his balances and weights and cubit measure, he could do business. He could buy of all sellers, and sell to all buyers, in any desired quantities. Did the trader invent these tools of his craft,—measures and weights; and coins, which are a species of weights? This question is disputed. My guess is that he did. If so, how great a debt is due him! Can you think of any invention of greater moment to humanity, except that of language?

Because the primitive market was open only on certain days, probably determined by phases of the moon, the early merchant was itinerant and journeyed from market to market. He took with him his two bags, and such merchandise as he might expect to sell or exchange at the next stand. Here we have the origin of the mercantile fairs of the Middle Ages, of which we have notable survivals still in the book fair of Leipsic and the great general fair at Novgorod in Russia. Although the local market place and day, and the traveling merchant continued in existence much longer than most of us would suppose, they have disappeared. Every city, village, and hamlet is a market place; all days but Sundays are market days; and

merchants are resident. Substantially the whole civilized world is a market all the time. Some five millions of our countrymen are employed in the handling, the moving, and sale of goods,—about sixteen and one-half per cent of the working population.

The establishment of the market, with its coin, weights, and measures, was one of the great landmarks in the history of man, and its development and extension have set the pace for the march of civilization itself. Doubtless Adam Smith was correct when he said "it is the trucking disposition which originally gave occasion to the division of labor," having already argued that it is the division of labor "which occasions . . . that universal opulence"<sup>3</sup> which exists in modern society. One might safely say that the market created industry. Where there is a market, continuous and universal, goods are made to sell. Barter with its exasperating limitations as to place, time, the parties and their needs, disappears. Industry goes on every day and steady streams of products flow like rivers to the all-receiving ocean.

We have spoken as if money accompanied by weights and measures was used by the primitive trader as a mere tool only, an intermediary commodity to facilitate exchanges, a "medium of exchange." He and his clients, however, found another use for money, of equal account, at least. It served as a guide and norm to the judgments and estimations of buyers and sellers. Money became a "standard of value"—a phrase convenient, if not quite exact. Accordingly, the phenomenon—the outward fact—of *price* appeared, and along with price the comprehending idea of value which pervades not only the market, but all society. Value is only and always an idea,—a thing of the mind.

I submit the suggestion that price and value have no practical sense, unless in connection with a market, and merchants trading there. The fact of price and the idea of value emerge in the field of exchange, not in that of production. It is a socialist heresy—their fundamental one—that Labor produces value, Capital, none. "Hence," says the socialist, "capitalists are parasites, if not robbers." The truth is, that Labor and Capital, coöperating on and with Nature, transform raw materials into consumable goods and transport them to consumers.

Whether value shall be attributed to them, and price appear, will depend on what happens in the market. If nobody wants the goods, the producer only makes a laughing stock of himself by clamoring about the labor he has undergone; and the capitalist, bewailing a lost investment, is equally ridiculous. If a change of fashion crowds the market with buyers, the labor cost "cuts no figure" in making price, as everybody knows.

It is in the market then, and not in the field or the shop, that prices are made. The determination of "just price" was a problem which allured and defied theologians of the Middle Ages. In vain their prayers, exhortations, and excommunications; their canons and decretals. The market resisted and ruled. Legislators have in many ages presumed to establish prices by statute and ordinance, whether for commodities, or labor, or the use of capital, mostly to no purpose, or worse than none. Laws may declare prices; they can not make prices. Our modern usury laws furnish abundant illustration of this. Forces mightier than statutes make prices. These forces meet and contend in the market, and contending they coöperate. We call them, for shortness, *demand* and *supply*.

These familiar terms are not always used in their proper sense. By *demand* the political economist means a body of persons appearing in a market, desiring to obtain goods or services for which they have something to offer in exchange; by *supply*, another company who offer goods or services, desiring to receive their equivalent in exchange. Under a money-economy, *demand* is a requisition on the market for goods or services by those who have money to buy with; *supply* is the offer on the market of goods or services in exchange for money. Demand brings money to take away goods. Supply brings goods to carry off money. Mere desire or need of things does not amount to demand; the mere possession of goods does not constitute supply.

The Silverites of 1896 insisted that there is a universal and unlimited demand for money, because people everywhere like to have money. Logically they should have contended for a correspondingly universal and unlimited supply of money. They were not so absurd—they asked only for some more. Only those demand money, who have something to give in exchange for money. Demand and supply, as thus explained, make prices in

the proper sense of the word. A rate, a stipend, a tariff, may for a time be set up by some political or other authority. But let the matter get into the market, and demand and supply will promptly supersede authority, establish economic equations, and exhibit prices and wages proper.

Price, then, the market equation of social valuations, is the outcome of successive and expected scrimmages between teams of demanders and suppliers, and the merchant is umpire of the game. He moderates between the exalted expectations of producers, and the grudging concessions of consumers. It is his function to ascertain the probable amount of goods on, or to come on, the market, and the probable amount which consumers will take on terms satisfactory to producers. The effect is to attract and maintain in the market a normal supply of all desirable commodities. The merchant thus plays the part of a prudent ship captain who husbands the provisions according to the exigencies of the voyage.

The continuous and perennial performance of this function has resulted in the establishment of what is variously called "market price," "customary price," "normal price," or a "general level of prices." Thanks to the moderating offices of the market, producers are constantly retiring from enterprises less remunerative, to engage in others promising larger returns, constantly aiming to supply the market with desired goods in such quantities as will yield the highest profit. The market thus becomes an economic balancing force. It continually directs industry into ever more profitable channels, and at the same time warns against over-production in any line. The market is the barometer of industry.

The further and natural result is a certain *stability of prices* which, familiar as it is, is a truly wonderful economic phenomenon. Whoever will examine the market statistics of any considerable period for which they exist, will be surprised, if, for the first time, he notes the remarkable uniformity of price in any and all staple articles of human use, and the generally gradual shifting of price level. He will, it is true, find epochs of revolution, but they are not frequent. Stability is the rule; great and sudden fluctuation, the exception. The waves of the market, like those of the ocean, do not disturb the general level.

Every modern taxing system presumes a general and stable level of prices. Without that the burden would be intolerable.

"Stable prices are a necessary condition of social progress," says Professor Simon N. Patten.<sup>4</sup>

This stability of prices is as beneficent as it is wonderful. Without it, modern great production and commerce would be impossible. With it, the producer may plan and work in reasonable expectation of reward, and the consumer may adjust his expenditure to his income. The economic relations of men, of associations, and of states become rational and orderly. Indeed the stable prices of civilized countries may be taken as a chief mark of their distinction from semi-civilized and savage peoples. This statement just made in regard to stability of price will be supported by any one present who has had occasion to make a purchase in an oriental bazaar, spending a morning in higgling and then paying three to five times the local price. The time-saving consideration of prices and price uniformity is of immense importance. "Money," said Carey (he should have said "money in a market") "saves millions of billions of minutes." With good reason, then, does the daily newspaper give its page to market reports; the weekly and monthly trade journals condense and compare the daily figures; and annual and decennial quartos tabulate and sum up for their respective periods.

I have thought it worth while to trace the development of the petty fair of the full moon into the great world market of modern times, and the transformation of the primeval huckster into the resident merchant. I have not described, and can not, the vast apparatus for packing, storing, and transporting the countless millions of tons of merchandise constantly appearing on the market, nor of the monetary and credit facilities indispensable to trade.

These taken with market transactions, constitute *business*, as distinguished from *industry*. It is with business that we are just now concerned. We need not seriously entertain the contention formerly heard in certain political discussions—that the middleman is superfluous and ought to be eliminated. We have been arguing and, I trust are agreed, that the middleman is an indispensable social agent, without whom civilization



would be impossible. We can not, therefore, consent to abolish the trader. Let socialists do that.

But it will be said, the business man is a bad man, and needs reformation. This is no new insinuation. The records of antiquity are full of testimony to his ill-repute. "The Persians," says Herodotus,<sup>5</sup> "held trade in extreme contempt. Shops were not allowed in public parts of towns. Only the lowest of people were traders." A Greek prince might be a carpenter but not a merchant; a pirate was much more reputable.<sup>6</sup> Aristotle held trading and usury alike in great contempt, and advised that traders be compelled to reside and do their business in a special forum, separate from that in which the public assemblies were held.<sup>7</sup> Spite of the fact that a strong mercantile class existed among the Romans, that people had no higher appreciation of it than had the Greeks. Cicero declared the gains of merchants to be mean and illiberal—and merchandising itself a badge of slavery.<sup>8</sup>

"Those who buy to sell again as soon as they can are to be accounted as vulgar; for they make no profit except by a certain amount of falsehood. . . . Commerce, if on a small scale, is to be regarded as vulgar; but if large, importing much from all quarters, and making extensive sales without fraud, it is not so very discreditable."

The Hebrew prophet, Hosea,<sup>9</sup> voices the judgment of his people and day: "He is a merchant; the balances of deceit are in his hand; he loveth to oppress." And another Hebrew prophet, Amos,<sup>10</sup> denounces those who make "the ephah small and the shekel great" and falsify "balances by deceit," so as to "buy the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes." When Jesus drove out the buyers and sellers from the temple, and overturned the tables of the money-changers, He declared to them that they had made the house of prayer a den of thieves. English "society" still shuts its door to all who live by trade.

Such extreme denunciations as these are rarely if ever heard in modern times; but is it not true that society is permeated with a feeling that commercial success and strict integrity are hardly compatible? Is not the trader expected to be "sharp" to the verge of falsehood and fraud? This is certainly an awful arraignment. It squarely raises the question involved in the topic assigned us for to-night's discussion—"The Ethics of Business."



Ethics is a name of Greek derivation, for one of the oldest of sciences,—the science of conduct, closely allied to law,—the other side of law in fact,—which early became a study by civilized men. Hindoo, Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek thinkers, to their great credit, inquired into sanctions of conduct and sought for guiding principles of life. Middle-Age schoolmen kept up the quest, and handed it on to modern philosophers, who, divided into opposing camps, are still bombarding one another with a fury akin to that of contending religionists. Intuitionists clash with empiricists, hedonists oppose themselves to rationalists, and evolutionary utilitarians draw the fire of all parties with unwelcome propositions of compromise.

Happily for our purpose we have not to arbitrate nor compose the perennial contentions of moral philosophers. All schools agree in these three things: (1) that all human beings do form judgments as to conduct; (2) that they are constrained by feeling to govern conduct according to such judgments; (3) that they do so govern conduct. All further consent that men know that they do these three things. All developed languages have a word which comprehends and connotes the three. In English it is the word *Conscience*. It is a comfortably elastic term perfectly suited to the every-day use of the wayfaring man, and worries nobody but philosophers. To repeat—the essence of conscience is (1) conscious judgment as to conduct; (2) the rising of the appropriate emotion; (3) the resolution of will to do the thing which ought to be done, or leave undone the thing which ought not to be done.

At the risk of tedium it is important to remark that the word conduct has no practical meaning for the individual man. The preposition “con” suggests the social man. Conduct is the guidance of human action in mutual “life and conversation.” Our actions on things without life, have no moral quality. There is no right or wrong in physics or chemistry. Towards men, all actions have an ethical aspect, for we live and move and have our being in social groups.

The whole world for all time has been a training ground for the practice of conduct. The moral judgments of men have been embodied in habit and custom, in tradition and proverb. Rights and correlative duties have been recognized, and scheduled, and sanctioned by the power of the state. They form the

substratum of law. The cardinal obligations of men were graven by the Divine Finger on imperishable stone, and published to Israel, not as just, because commanded; but commanded, because just. All these—tradition, the law, the decalogue, witness to the moral law written forever in the hearts of men.

Rarely has it been suggested that any man or class ought to be exempt from this law. Machiavelli proposed that the prince<sup>11</sup> as the head of the state, should be free to do wrong if the interests of the state seemed to require; and Machiavelli is infamous. Napoleon claimed to be an exceptional character, free from moral constraint—and the claim has not added to that chieftain's glory.<sup>12</sup> I have never heard it claimed that the mercantile class ought to be set apart and permitted to regulate conduct on exceptional principles. To the credit of that class it must be said it has never claimed exemption. The veriest cheat who ever sanded sugar or palmed off the wooden nutmeg has had his extenuation ready.

The much derided milkman is by no means without conscience, as witness this from Harper's Bazar: "James," said the milkman to his new boy, "d'ye see what I'm doin' of?" "Yes sir," replied James, "you're a-pourin' water in the milk." "No, I'm not, James, I'm a-pourin' milk in the water. So, if anybody asks you if I put water in my milk, you tell 'em, 'No.' Allers stick to the truth, James."

There is a profound if recondite truth in the French proverb, "Qui s'excuse, s'accuse." He who excuses himself, accuses himself. Any apologist confesses.

Many an amiable shopkeeper justifies himself in floriated and extravagant advertisements by a feeling that somehow, in Paddy's happy phrase, "the truth don't fit." Whether the trading class has any notable eminence in departures from rectitude is a question for the jury—and this audience may, if it so please, take that part. My counsel is to deliberate patiently before declaring your verdict.

We shall do well if we remind ourselves at once of certain cautions to be observed when we come to forming moral judgments. Voluntary actions only, as already suggested, come within the sphere of ethics. No one can be held responsible for action which is enforced, or prompted by insane delusion. Allowance has always to be made for pardonable ignorance, for surprise, for overmastering temptation, and for bad education and example.

The trader occupies an exposed and critical position. A little while ago I spoke of him as the umpire in a game of exchanges, played by producer and consumer. That statement needs correction. The trader is not a disinterested moderator of the sport; he has a deep interest in the game, and it is adverse to those of both parties. He gains on one hand by lowering price to the producer, and on the other by raising it on the consumer. He thus stands a good chance of getting the ill-will of both. As an intermediary proprietor he must assure himself of the measure and quality of goods acquired, and stand responsible to customers to deliver what he has bargained to them. It is not always the merchant's fault that shoddy and brummagem are brought to market. He may of course connive in the fraud. Herbert Spencer's fearful catalogue of rascality in his essay on *The Morals of Trade* is chiefly devoted to an enumeration of the shams and adulterations prepared by manufacturers in the expectation that traders of easy virtue will work them off on a public which prefers cheapness to honest goods.<sup>13</sup>

The merchant's calling is indeed a precarious one. The shrewdest natural talent for merchandizing, exercised with un-sleeping vigilance, does not suffice to avert losses and even collapse. He must expect, and so far as possible, provide against loss from undue extensions of credit, from sudden avalanches of goods onto the market, from freaks of fashion which may leave shelving and storage crammed with valueless stuffs, from the irruption of new competitors, from the under-selling of piratical "combines," and from disturbances in the money market, arising in distant cities, and possibly, in foreign lands. We count those men of business fortunate, who out-ride the waves of one of our great periodic commercial crises.

I can not believe the oft-repeated estimate, that ninety-five or ninety-six out of every one hundred men who engage in business, fail, to be anywhere near the truth. It is, however, the exaggeration of a truth, that some large proportion does succumb to the risks of trade. Modern bankruptcy laws indicate a public opinion that business failures must be numerous, are inevitable, and are not generally due to dishonesty. From all this it is to be inferred that if the trading class is less honest than others, it is to mighty little profit. On the main question

David Harum would do well to preserve a discreet silence, and the manufacturers of oleomargarine, filled cheese, and mixed flour had better throw no stones. It might turn out that the merchant merely improves his more frequent and insidious opportunities for crookedness.

And the newspaper man, breaking a commandment of the Decalogue and a statute of the state more than fifty times a year, has he any good ground from which to arraign his neighbor for sharp practice in trade?

The newspaper man, I am bound to add, by the way, has an apologist in the person of a near relative of Mr. Dooley, the well-known Chicago saloon keeper who has lately enriched the literature of American humor. Says this unknown apologist of the much-maligned newspaper man, "Shaughnessy, I'm ashamed of your stupidity. Do youse not know that the newspaper man is both seduced and intimidated. It's foorced he is by an irresistible public demand, including reverend clergy and ruling elders and by pew-holders galore who would reduce the whole printing office to original molecules if they couldn't get their fill of Sunday advertising. The Christian publisher is foorced to get out the Sunday edition, to prevent the devil from occupying the whole field. And there's the more, that the Christian matron must and will have the comic supplement to keep the children from raising ould Cain and disturbing their father while she is lingering in the sanctuary wid her seal sacque and picture hat. Let me hear no more of yer nonsense. What's the additional fifteen per cent and more of business profits, but a just and reasonable compensation for the violence done to the conscience of the poor newspaper man foorced to go ferninst his conscience?"

This levity may be misplaced,—but the newspaper man is entitled to his hearing and the public is bound to take its full share of responsibility for broken law, if any there be.

It was long a wonder to me how a society permeated with falsehood and covetousness, could cohere and remain in existence. On a late visit to one of our island possessions I found the secret, and I don't mind confiding it to you. It is this: where everybody lies, nobody is deceived. I might have learned the same lesson nearer home. A New York City statesman remarked that he could not understand the old story about Diogenes hunting around with a lantern for an honest man. "Are you surprised that honest men were so scarce in Athens?" he was asked. "Naw. W'at I don't see is, w'at he wanted wit 'im."

A merchant of Rhodes held the whole remaining stock of wheat there and the price had been forced to an enormous figure. He alone knew that in three days vessels would arrive

from Alexandria with full cargoes. Query: What was his duty? Was it to reveal his knowledge and sell his corn at the ordinary price? Cicero, the heathen, says "Yes"; certain Christian philosophers have answered "No."

"In my opinion then . . . the corn merchant at Rhodes . . . ought not to have kept his buyers in the dark. As to silence being no concealment, it becomes so, if for your own profit you keep others in the dark as to things that you know, and at the same time concern them to know."<sup>14</sup> The high-minded heathen adds in the next chapter, "Now can there be doubt of the nature of concealments of this sort, and of the character of those who practice them? They surely are not consistent with that of an open, well-meaning, generous, honest, worthy man; but of the crafty, the sneaking, cunning, deceitful, wicked, sly, juggling, and roguish."

For my part I side with the Roman for the reason that the man should outweigh the merchant. But I meant to give only a single illustration of the awful strain put upon a trader. The merchant may well say a loud amen to the prayer, "Lead us not into temptation."

We have now unconsciously drifted to the position that the business class, all things considered and allowed, is no better and no worse in point of morality than the rest of us. But I think it but justice to add that it is among bankers and merchants in the great centers of business where a nod nails a contract for millions, that the most glorious illustrations of integrity, fair dealing, and honor which this world knows, are to be found.

"Perhaps there are no two men living in the world to-day who would make an oral contract involving a billion dollars except J. Pierpont Morgan and Andrew Carnegie. These spirits, each courageous, daring, confident, entered into such a contract." The necessary papers were not executed till some days after.<sup>15</sup>

As to the morals of general society, there is room for discrimination between the statements of political speakers and religious teachers. The stump orator, bowing to the "majesty of the people," never tires of assuring them that they are wise, incorruptible, and capable of deciding all questions of state. The preacher, magnifying his office, and desirous to show us our true "state and standing in the world," assails our reluctant ears with such passages as, "there are none righteous, no, not one;" we are all gone out of the way; sinners by nature and more so by practice, "there is no health in us." Neither the

preacher nor the politician expects his statements to be taken in their bald literalness, and we certainly do not so take them. Still we do well to trust the demagogue so far as he expects us to, and to give heed to the warnings of the preacher, even if we do not believe in total depravity.

The problem of moralizing business then, is but part of the larger problem of moralizing general society. Trite and hackneyed as the word is, I can find no other which comprehends all means of solving both the greater problem and the less than the word *education*—education in schools, in the family, and the social circle, by law and by gospel, by history and biography, and by the example of living men. Turning to the smaller problem, that of moralizing business, it is important to note how tardy the business world has been to call for the assistance of the teacher and school. The physician and the lawyer long ago made their standing in the learned world. The chemist and the engineer have won their citizenship in the republic of learning. The farmer has got his foot over the threshold. But the man of business has raised no clamor for more light and more science in our country. I have nothing to say which might discourage the business schools or colleges already found in all our considerable towns. They are doing a useful service and have won their way with little sympathy, and often against the resistance of the merchants. But there is need of a higher and wider schooling than they have yet aspired to give. They are concerned with the mere tricks of trade—with the mechanical routine of the counting room, the warehouse, and the bank. The business college itself calls for, and society needs, a more generous education, one which opens out on the great world, past, present, and future, which shall develop and train the intellectual powers, and inform and inspire the moral faculty. There is no reason why the merchant should not hold up his head with all learned doctors.

Here I need not argue. Already a few of our more enterprising universities have opened their doors to the higher commercial education. The fashion will spread, and we shall presently get the hang of the new pedagogy. A recent gift to one of these institutions was made with a condition that business honor and morality shall be illustrated and inculcated. In the next generation we should have a body of business men trained



in languages and history, in geometry and many sciences, in political economy, in transportation and public finance, and in business law. The Germans have been for some years training young men for world-business, and the graduates of their schools are called to London and New York to fill high positions in great houses. May we not rightly expect at length to find in the market greater wisdom and a higher moral tone? Men trained in the schools I hope for, will know that fraud does not pay and honesty is something else than a policy.

Meantime there are betterments of trade morals going on, which are both a cause and a consequence of trade customs. The one-price plan, may be mentioned, which places all customers on an equality. In my boyhood the making of ordinary purchases at a store was called "trading." The customer expected to haggle, and hoped to get a lower price than his neighbor. The adroit salesman counted for much in those times. The custom of wholesale by samples shown by commercial travelers, speaks loudly for the integrity of merchants. Goods so sold rarely, unless by some accident, fail to correspond to the samples. The extended use of trade marks and brands gives confidence to consumers, and encourages honest manufacture. The Pillsburys could not afford to market a single barrel of the "Best" flour not up to standard. The virtue of manufacturers and dealers in goods marketed in cans and cartons has been greatly supported by the pure food laws enacted in late years. What a commentary on our Christian civilization that such laws are necessary! The public grading of grain, meats, and dairy products makes for good morals in business. Ought not all staples of consumption to be standardized under public inspection? All such customs are moralizing. There is great need of reform in advertising, especially in print, which costs the American consumer so many hundreds of millions a year, and the government a good round sum for virtually free postal distribution. It is but just to say that there has been great reform, but there is room for more.

We need not pursue the special education of the business class. That will at length take care of itself. Meantime the general moralization of all classes must go on, and serve as an atmosphere in which the moral improvement of any class may be possible. Here comes the amiable socialist to say that the moral-

ization of general society is impossible where competition exists. Only in the collectivistic state, where there will be no buying and selling, where profit will be impossible, where private ownership will be so curtailed that nobody will be covetous, and where greed must shrivel and vanish, can men be truly moral in their economic relations. I blame no socialist for his dream and longing for a heaven on earth. If we could be sure that Socialism could perform a tithe of what it promises we should be without excuse if we did not vote it in to-morrow. But the doubt about that and the certainty that no great state will or can undertake the experiment of state socialism, within any period which can be estimated, may justify us in politely shutting the door on the seductive Marxian, "charm he never so wisely." We must grind along in the old rut of individualism, moderated by social control, and I suspect that our ethics will be of a robuster sort than that of a collectivistic state from which the struggle for existence would be mostly eliminated.

Next comes the churchman to claim his immemorial right to educate. There is no genuine morality, he claims, unless founded on the orthodox faith and sanctioned by penalties reserved in a future world. The moral education, he contends, is of such overwhelming importance that the subordinate intellectual training ought not to be separated from it, and both should be under ecclesiastical direction. There are many who hold to this tradition. To the churchman, as to the socialist we are obliged to say "We can not wait for you. The triumphant unity and purification of the church is too far away. Meantime internal dissension exhausts her powers and disenables her from the task of educating the whole people."

And there are those who traverse the plea of the church and allege that moral, as well as intellectual, training can be more effectively given on the foundations of science and experience, than on that of any religion. However that may be, general society which has undertaken the education of the intellect, will be constrained to essay that of the conscience. We may resent the claim of the ecclesiastic that he alone should be entrusted with the training of our children, and at the same time concede his major premise that training in morals must go on along with secular instruction. The truth is, the two are inseparable. Every schoolroom is a forum in which conduct is illustrated.



No teacher can help being a guide of life to his pupils. I must not fail here to commend for the instruction of young school pupils the book of the late President Emerson E. White, especially Part Two entitled *Moral Training*. Also the book of Dr. Felix Adler on *Moral Instruction*. For grown-up students and all adults Cicero's treatise entitled *De Officiis* has not been surpassed. It was written for his son when a university student at Athens. Translations are plentiful. That of Dr. Peabody of Harvard is excellent.

It is perfectly practicable for the teacher, without trenching on sectarian preserves, to expound and illustrate the conduct which is noble and just, and show how character is built up by good habits. What is more, he may constantly reinforce conscience by alliance with taste, our aesthetic nature,—and thus demonstrate "the beauty of holiness." The daily walk and conversation of every teacher should be a continuous object lesson, more effective than any preachment of those cardinal virtues scheduled by Plato, and inculcated by every moral philosopher who has since lived: Temperance, Courage, Kindness, Wisdom, Justice.

In a democracy there is no education of so great importance as that which leads to the recognition of *rights*, and of the duties which of necessity correspond to rights. The concession of rights and the discharge of duties form, if not the whole of conduct, one half or one third of it. I have long been of the opinion that excellent moral instruction can be given out of our civil penal codes. The youngest child in the grammar school can be taught what courses of conduct the law denounces as crimes or misdemeanors, and why the state has provided punishments for them. The school master need by no means confine himself to the criminal law; the civil law abounds in material for his use in teaching right conduct. Let us take two illustrations. The first shall be that law of the person which guarantees to every American citizen the dearest of his rights—the right of personal liberty. I mean the "Habeas Corpus Act" as the English term it, which defines and sanctions "the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus." Under this law any person who is restrained of his liberty may apply to the courts for an immediate inquiry into the reasons for his detention. If none is found, the applicant is entitled to immediate release. A heavy

penalty awaits judge or sheriff who fails in his duty. Without this right of "summary appeal for immediate deliverance from illegal imprisonment," our bills of rights would be waste paper.

The Minnesota Habeas Corpus Statute forms Chapter 81 of the General Statutes of 1913. The essential provisions are:

Every person imprisoned or otherwise restrained of his *liberty*, (except persons duly committed or convicted) may prosecute a writ of Habeas Corpus.

The form of the writ is:

. The State of Minnesota to the sheriff of etc.

You are hereby commanded to have the body (habeas corpus it was in old law Latin), of C.D. by you imprisoned and detained, as it is said, . . . . by whatsoever name the said C.D. shall be called or charged, before.....judge of the.....court, at..... on ..... the.....day of.....to do and receive what shall be then and there considered concerning the said C.D. And have you then and there this writ. Witness etc.

The penalty for wilful refusal by a judge to grant the writ when legally applied for is \$1,000. A sheriff who refuses or neglects to produce C.D. and return the writ may be committed to jail till he complies. It is the duty of the judge immediately after return of a writ to examine into the facts, and if no legal cause for imprisonment is found, to discharge the prisoner. For neglect or refusal the judge is liable to impeachment, and upon conviction to removal from office. A sheriff or other officer neglecting to discharge a prisoner, whose release has been ordered is liable to a fine of \$1,000 and special damages as shown.

Our second illustration shall be "The Statute of Frauds," found in the law of property of all our Anglo-American states. The object of this famous statute is to require all contracts of serious importance, or extending over considerable periods of time to be committed to writing and vouched by signature: so that neither party, if disappointed in his bargain, may claim there was no bargain, or if there were one, its terms were such as he may dictate. In our day and country we are so wonted to the beneficent operation of this law that we have become unconscious of it. In proof that I do not exaggerate its importance, let me give the opinion of that great American jurist, Chancellor Kent. "The English Statute of Frauds and Perjuries carries its influence through the whole body of our jurisprudence, and is in many respects the most comprehensive, salutary, and important legislation on record, affecting the security of private rights."<sup>16</sup>

The Minnesota Statute of Frauds forms Chapter 68 of the General Statutes, 1913. The essential provisions are:

1. All conveyances of land real estate must be by deed in writing.
2. Contracts for the sale of personal property are void, unless
  - a. In writing signed by the party charged,
  - b. Or goods delivered in whole or part,
  - c. Or purchase money paid in whole or part.
3. There are certain oral agreements which are not declared void, but for which no prosecutions are tolerated. These are
  - a. Agreements running for more than one year,
  - b. Agreements to answer for the debt, default, or doings of another,
  - c. Agreements in consideration of marriage.

Any intelligent boy or girl of twelve could grasp the main purposes and benefits of these laws, and the knowledge would be far more useful, and quite as interesting as the history of the Ancient Persians, the solution of cubic equations, or the scanning of iambic pentameters. I can think of no solidier foundation for the inculcation of practical morality than such laws.

Other materials there are in abundance for the use of the teacher of morals. I can mention only literature—especially the literature of song, of parable, and of proverb, all crowned by the treasures of the English Bible. I trust that we have kept in mind the truth that morality is not a matter of the heart alone—that it takes right knowing to awaken the right feeling which in turn can rouse right willing.

There is another education of the whole society most necessary—an economic education. I am not about to recommend that political economy be introduced into our common and graded schools. That may wait till political economists come to an agreement as to what that science embraces, and I suspect that agreement will have the same date as the complete unification of theologians as to the content of the orthodox faith. No, I mean something simpler, and practical—an economic training of children in both school and family. Our children should be early taught the qualities and merits of economic goods, of houses and their furniture, of domestic animals, of clothing, foods, and merchandise of many kinds. They should learn to distinguish the genuine from the spurious, the tasteful from the tawdry. They should be entrusted with money and sent to the market to buy, and encouraged to form

sound opinions as to prices. Fortunate are those children whose parents can give them opportunity to earn money by labor. The boy who has earned a dollar by the sweat of the brow has a sense of value and utility impossible to the one who has not labored. The man who has not labored has not been educated and knows neither himself nor the world.

All children should be taught to postpone the good of to-day for the better of to-morrow. They should be trained to the saving habit, and to make it a matter of conscience to provide against the rainy day, against old age, and possible earlier incapacity for work. The postal savings banks now being established contribute to the economic education we are considering. Abstinence from useless and injurious luxuries should be inculcated in every family and every school. Thanks to a crusade preached by a body of brave earnest women, the laws of many states already require instruction in the effects of alcohol on the human system. We are still concerned with the economics of a species of luxurious consumption which costs the country much more than a billion dollars a year, with nothing substantial to show for it. Shall we include in our scheme abstinence from tobacco and other narcotics? Logically we ought to, but what is the use of preaching when the public men of the country neutralize it all by their example? I have long been accustomed to say to my men students: Smoke tobacco if you like it and think it shows you manly. I have so far shunned the habit, but I can not believe the practice wholesome or cleanly. But please yourselves; I have no sermon to preach to you, so long as the governor of the state, the bishop of the diocese, and the president of the university set you the example.

Nevertheless the General Statutes of Minnesota under the head of "Crimes against morality, decency, etc.," provide that every school pupil under age who shall smoke or use cigars, cigarettes, or tobacco in any form in any public place shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be punished for each offense by a fine of not more than ten dollars, or by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than five days. And any person who furnishes a minor pupil with tobacco in any form is guilty of a misdemeanor, and may be punished by a fine of fifty dollars or thirty days imprisonment.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, the art of bookkeeping should be taught to all along with writing and arithmetic. This system of personal and domestic statistics is certainly of importance to every member of society. The practice of account-keeping begets frugality, keeps peace between neighbors, checks extravagant expenditure, and keys up honesty all round. Albert Gallatin thought a Secretary of the Treasury would do well to understand bookkeeping.<sup>18</sup>

Such economic training of children would do much towards moralizing society and the market.

But, training is not enough. Sound judgment must be reinforced by adequate knowledge. That would be an ideal market where large numbers of demanders and suppliers resorted, each and all perfectly informed as to all conditions affecting values. It would then be equally impossible to gull sellers with suggestions of glut, or deceive buyers with insinuations of scarcity. Such a market there has never been, and the trader has been to a degree to blame for it. The articles of apprenticeship in vogue for centuries have bound merchants to instruct their apprentices in "the *art and mystery*" of merchandizing. The merchant has ever studied how to involve his transactions in mystery. He does not take the public into his confidence, and the public, apathetic and incurious, remains in deep ignorance of the qualities of goods, the range of supply, the cost of production, and other conditions which affect price-making.

The ideal market will, of course, never exist on this planet; but there may at length be something like it. Thanks to the market reports of the daily and periodical press already mentioned, we are on the way to it. The casual newspaper reader thirsting for "scare" news, little appreciates the immense social and economic importance of those repulsive pages. As already suggested they contribute towards that stability of prices which is so great a desideratum. But market reports are prepared and published in the interest of business men. We need an apparatus which at all seasons shall keep the whole people informed upon the state of industry and commerce the world over. No private agency can be trusted with that eminently public service. The call is for a great public economic intelligence office, for the National Department of Statistics which is to be and has begun to be. In the perfected state of the future,

when jails and prisons and penal codes shall have become unnecessary, when wars shall have ceased, and the nation can save the three hundred and fifty millions now annually spent on war preparations and war consequences, the department of statistics will be the leading one in the national, state, and local governments. When, through its agency, the whole people shall be promptly and constantly informed of all market conditions (so far as men can foresee them), no trader can deceive his customers, no clique of speculators can rig the market. What a support to virtue will such knowledge be!

But knowledge is not enough. It must be crowned with wisdom, -that wisdom which is better than the merchandise of silver and more precious than rubies. If our people or any people are to attain to that high plane of living where wisdom is the principal thing, they must quench the wild, insane passion for riches which now possesses them and cease from mammon-worship. They must cease from envying and imitating the insane luxury of some millionaires, and must learn that the idle-rich are useless and contemptible parasites. We need, all of us, to put into practice a truth we all profess,- that the possession of wealth imposes obligations to society under whose beneficent guardianship the rights of property are guaranteed. Wealth is no charter to prodigality, or idleness, or lust. Sound political economy and religion alike make wealth a trust, and its owners, trustees. Slow as the process is, we can and must hope for a day when our whole society will be moralized. Then the merchant can no more say that it is impossible to do business and speak truth with his neighbor.

Up to this point in our discussion we assumed an ordinary course of things and have taken no note of the changes and chances of this mortal life. Of these chances, men of business may not be so careless. Stationed on the economic watch towers, they must be unceasingly alert to note the effects of wet and dry; of heat and frost; of foes, vegetable and animal, to the growing crops at home and in distant continents; of the discovery of new mines and deposits, especially of the money metals; or the exhaustion of old ones; of strikes and lockouts in the labor field; of new customs as to hours of toil and limits on output; of pestilences and famines; of monetary contraction or expansion, and commercial crises which in recent times are



frequent and perhaps periodic; and above all, of those changes of fashion of which there is no science nor prevision. Long experience and trained powers of observation may enable them to estimate the force and directions of ordinary winds and currents and to trim their sails accordingly. Still, in all business there must ever remain a big element of uncertainty. The trader must ever be taking great risks, and all right-minded people will concede him generous compensation,—wages for his labor, interest for his capital, profit for his risk and responsibility.

How far from the minds of speaker and audience was the thought that within a decade our peaceful country would be raising an army of two millions of soldiers and expending twenty billions of money in a single year of preparation for a war on another continent. The effect on business is too obvious for remark.

But there are mingled with honorable men of business, those who are not looking for mere legitimate gains. Such are not in business for service but for plunder. We call them *speculators*. This is a word of Latin derivation and from a root meaning to *see* or *behold*: hence to watch or lie in wait for. The figure is that of the eagle who watches for the fish-hawk rising from the water, with his food, and swoops down to rob him. The speculator exists in many varieties; one deals in actual commodities and gains by cornering or overloading the market; another trades in fictitious commodities, with no expectation that any goods shall change hands; still another capitalizes hope and hot air. Except in form—hardly in that—speculation as we now describe it, does not differ from gambling—the brutal, selfish, unsocial, demoralizing vice, everywhere and always condemned by right-thinking people. To get something for nothing is a species of robbery, even with the other party's consent. If it be asked here "Can anybody draw the line between legitimate trading and gambling?" I am ready to answer: As a matter of casuistry it is difficult; it may be impossible; but, as a matter of common sense and practice, if any man sincerely desires to be on the right side of the fence, he need not lose the flash of a fire-fly in getting there. I think it but just, however, to our speculator to say that he is often under awful temptation, when willing lambs without number are waiting to be shorn.

Another assumption has been tacit in this discussion,—that competition has been free, between man and man. Such competition we have assumed to be essential to a true market, in which an economic democracy exchanging freely, may establish just prices through the natural interplay of economic interests. To engross or forestall the market has always been a crime; and to monopolize it, infamous. It has been the policy of our American commonwealths, following ancient examples, to permit the united action of citizens in industry and trade by incorporation into single quasi-personal associations. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century such permission was granted by special legislative acts called charters. When the railway and steam machinery had made "large production" profitable in many lines, the demands for charters became so numerous and the danger of granting excessive powers so great, that general corporation laws were enacted. The privilege of incorporation now came to be regarded as a right. With superfluous generosity, as I believe, our states, while granting liberal powers to corporations, have relieved them of the responsibilities which individuals and partners are, and ought to be, subject to; thus giving them an advantage, which they have not been slow to turn to account.

One of the incidental consequences of the war of the slaveholders' rebellion was, that it served as an object lesson in organization on a great scale. The most conspicuous illustration was the formation of "combines" for transportation and industry which began within the decade after the war. We can not at this hour enter upon the interesting story of their evolution, from the original trust proper to the last phase of the holding company and the merger. We are only concerned with the last development, the object of which is to guarantee profits by control of markets. The trust has extended its activity from the field of production into that of exchange. Its adventures are mercantile, not merely industrial. Massing a sufficient number of establishments, and operating on a scale resulting in virtual monopoly, the management undertakes to dictate prices to material men, to impose its own rates of wages for labor, and to figure its profits according to what the traffic will bear. In some cases the supply of material has been acquired or brought under control. In many cases the retailer, working



under a factor's agreement, is no better than a hired agent with iron-clad instructions. The question which concerns us, is what is to be the effect of the trust on the market? I submit this answer. In so far as the trust can establish and maintain a monopoly, it obliterates the market. Where there is but one seller who may dictate prices, *there is no market*. Prices become rates or tariffs and assimilate to taxes. There is no equating of social valuations.

It may be suggested here that by reason of economies in production and exchange the trusts can afford to undersell private operators, and from purely selfish interest will refrain from extortion; that they will be content with moderate, because un-failing, profits, and will bless the world with straight goods and low prices. Grant this if you will, but note that in the absence of a market in which competition rules, you have no gauge of prices. In the grip of a beef trust, how can you tell what steaks and roasts are *worth*?

This excerpt from an Associated Press dispatch may illustrate my statement: Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, January 23. "The Standard Oil Company has created a sensation by declaring that hereafter it will fix the daily price of petroleum regardless of quotations on the oil exchanges. . . . The principal buyer for . . . the Standard Oil Company has issued the following notice: 'Buyers: the small amount of dealings in certificate oil on the exchange renders the transactions there no longer a reliable indication of the value of the product. . . . Daily quotations will be furnished you from this office.' "

Grant that all our "combines" are and are to be conducted by just and generous men, ambitious to play the rôle of princely benefactors, will it be well for the people to surrender to them the making of prices? In politics we have learned by immemorial experience that no one class can stipulate for another, and that neither monarchs nor oligarchs, though they claim to be inspired from heaven, can be trusted to rule without constitutional guaranties. I can not therefore sympathize with the declaration of a Christian railroad president to the Pennsylvania coal miners:—"The rights and interests of the laboring men will be protected and cared for by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country."<sup>19</sup> How absurd and futile is all such talk! Does any sane man believe that American la-

borers are going to place themselves under the watchful care of any oligarchy of propertied men, however sincerely Christian?

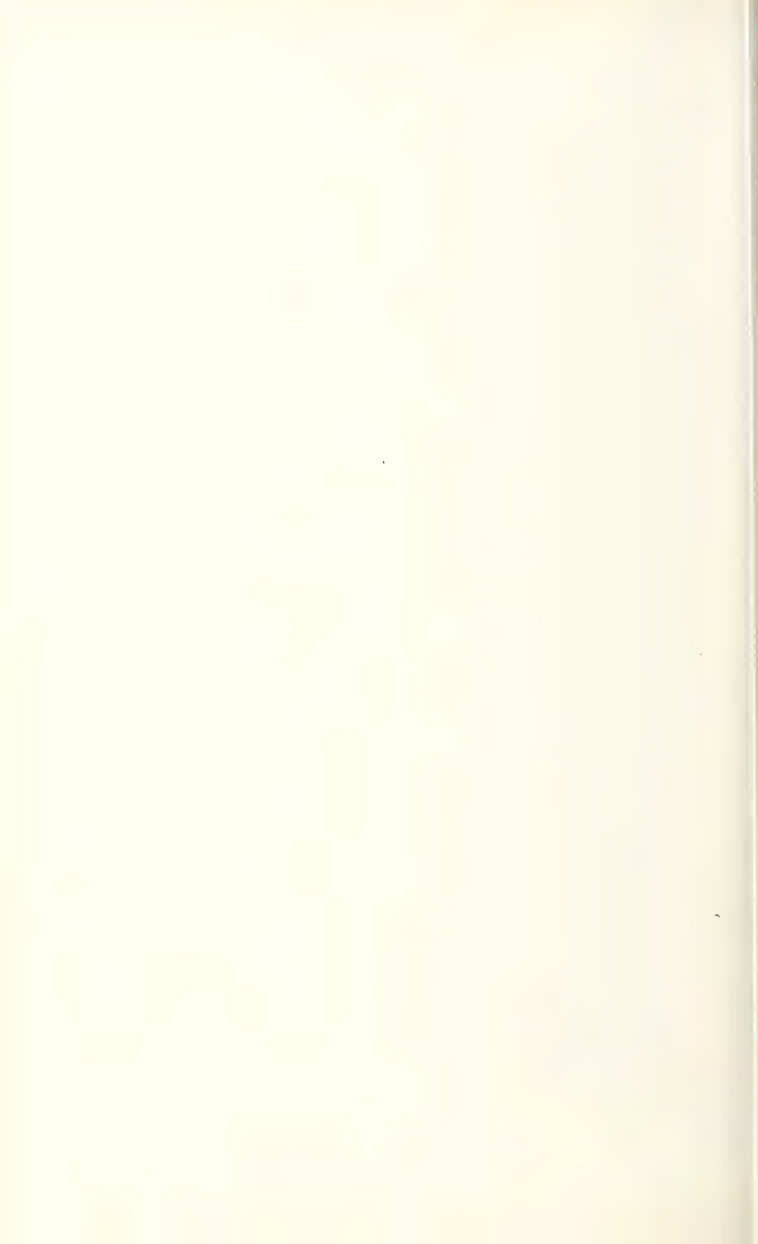
In some way and at some time the American people will regain and perpetuate the open market, germane to their democracy, where competition is between man and man. There real prices may be made, and kept stable. Then equity may prevail and virtue be supported. Do you think monopoly can exalt the standard of business morality? Give me the ethics of the open market.

A decade and a half has passed since this paper was written. That effective competition has ceased in some industries is known to all. Many think it can never be restored. Suggestions toward government price-making abound. Still I am not disposed to retract or materially to modify any of the foregoing statements. Governments can not make prices in any proper sense of the word. They can establish rates and stipends, but not prices or wages. Every proposition that I have heard of for government intervention looks to the fixing of rates according to value of services or cost of production. What determines value of services and cost of production? Is it any decree or fiat? A revelation from heaven might possibly do it. The only earthly way to ascertain values is in the open market. Let government assure us liberty and justice in the market and prices will make themselves. That government may determine rates for public service corporations enjoying public franchises, and for monopolizing industrial concerns, whether individual or corporate, on the basis of cost as ascertained in the open market, is a feasible and reasonable proposition.

## NOTES

- Blackstone, *Commentaries* 1:49.
- <sup>2</sup> Plato, *Republic* 3:117. Jowett translation.  
 ——— *Works* 3:51. Jowett translation.
- <sup>3</sup> *Wealth of Nations* bk. 1, ch. 3; bk. 3, ch. 1.
- <sup>4</sup> *Publications of the American Economic Association* 3:422.  
 The whole essay is commended to the reader.
- <sup>5</sup> Herodotus 1:153; 2:167. Rawlinson ed.
- <sup>6</sup> Thucydides I bk. 1, ch. 5. Jowett ed.
- <sup>7</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* 1:19. Jowett ed.
- <sup>8</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*.
- <sup>9</sup> *Hosea* 12:7.
- <sup>10</sup> *Amos* 8:5,6.
- <sup>11</sup> *Il Principe* ch. 18.
- <sup>12</sup> J. R. Seeley, *Short History of Napoleon the First* p. 254 *et seq.* Boston. 1901.
- <sup>13</sup> H. Spencer, *Essays, Scientific, etc.* 3:113.
- <sup>14</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis* bk. 3, ch. 12.
- <sup>15</sup> Statement of Representative Stanley before House Committee on Rules, April 9, 1911 p. 8.
- <sup>16</sup> Kent, *Commentaries* 2:494. 12th ed.
- <sup>17</sup> *General Statutes of Minnesota*, 1913 secs. 8674-76.
- <sup>18</sup> Writings of Albert Gallatin 1:72. Philadelphia. 1879.
- <sup>19</sup> Attributed by newspapers to the president of the Reading Railroad system. Not denied so far as known.

## TRUSTS



## TRUSTS

This paper was first read before the Minneapolis Board of Trade in the winter of 1900.

It is the modern fashion to study institutions genetically in order to ascertain their nature by learning how they came to be, and to be what they are. The trust is a recent efflorescence from seeds sown, some say by the enemy, in a soil which had been long fitting to receive them. The preparation of that soil began with the application of steam to manufacture not long before the close of the eighteenth century. In the first third of the nineteenth century, machine production and the factory system had broken in upon, and extensively ousted, the domestic and little shop industries which had been practised through immemorial ages. But the factories of that time were small and local because their markets were local. Large production came in with the railroad, itself a conspicuous illustration of that principle. The railroad extended the market from county to county, and state to state, to embrace at length the whole country, and at length to pass its frontiers. To-day our great productive establishments demand nothing less extensive than the market of the world, and boldly claim an international right of access thereto. But the railroad was not the sole cause and condition of the evolution of large production. That evolution was the result of a complex of cooperating causes, from which such elements as the following may be selected for enumeration, but not for elaborate consideration in this paper.

1. Great and increasing wealth, the product of intelligent industry applied to virgin soil, and deposits practically unlimited; free land to any, and all, who would even promise to settle and cultivate.

2. The capitalizing of constantly increasing increments of this wealth and the development of banking institutions to collect the small rills of personal savings and turn them into the great channels of production.

3. The development among the people generally, of the investing habit, and the gradual extension of production in expectation of demand, at length making all large production necessarily speculative.

4. The expanding enterprise and ability of men desirous to wield the power of great wealth and to obtain the social consideration attaching to great establishments.

5. The perfection of the art of organizing men and matter, which reached its culmination in the last years of the slaveholder's rebellion, or not much later.

6. The enactment in many states, beginning about 1850, of general corporation laws, making it easy for a few enterprising men to obtain the use of other people's money through exaggerated, though not necessarily untruthful, suggestions of large dividends, and also making it easy to elude that responsibility which private persons have to bear.

7. Steam transportation and electric communication opening remote sources of material and distant markets for products.

8. The "protective tariff system" expressly planned and operated to nourish nascent industries.

9. Remarkable developments in applied science, especially in chemistry and mechanical physics, giving rise to numerous inventions and discoveries available for, and specially advantageous to, large operations.

The foregoing are outside causes. There were also inside considerations which made large production profitable and swelled its development.

10. Before all else, the harnessing of the forces of nature, by means of water and steam, and other motors, and the utilization of this power by means of machines, reaching its highest form in the special machine and systems of interchangeable mechanism.

11. The division of labor, assigning functions according to strength, skill, and discretion, ever increasing in importance with the multiplication of machines.

12. The utilization of by-products, as in the case of petroleum refining where three hundred by-products are said to be successively eliminated.

13. Location of establishments with reference to power, labor supply, raw material, marketing, and monetary facilities.

14. The credit system of doing business, giving obvious advantages for the purchase of material in quantity, for the maintenance of long and costly productive processes, and for carrying the product until the time is ripe for sale.

15. The evolution of banking through many costly experiments, into an effective, though still imperfect system, for the custody, and transmission of moneys, the discount of commercial paper, and the financing of large operations, public and private.

The close of the forty years period, ending with the panic year 1873, saw large production everywhere intrenched and triumphant. The little shop, store, and factory had disappeared. The roadside artisan had been transformed into the operative, or had degenerated into the cobbler, the tinker, or the busheler. The economy of large production had been completely demonstrated, and was universally understood and acknowledged. No new institution nor organism was needed to further inculcate or illustrate this economy.

The cataclysm of 1873 awoke the country to a new fact, that large production had been overdone, that the productive power of our motors and machines, engineered by men who vainly trusted that the consumer could never fail, had been turning out more goods of many kinds than the people would pay for and consume. In the twenty years 1850-1870, the numbers of manufacturing establishments and of hands employed a little more than doubled, the capital and product quadrupled; census<sup>1</sup> in round figures shows;

	1850	1870
Number of establishments.....	122,000	252,000
Employees.....	945,000	2,000,000
Capital.....	527,000,000	2,000,000,000
Product.....	1,000,000,000	4,000,000,000

The point to be emphasized here is that this vast and portentous development of large production, accompanied by infinitesimal division of labor and processes, the multiplication of special machines and interchangeable mechanism, and the utilization of by-products, had taken place before the invention of the trust. This being so, it is not open to apologists to insist that the trust is simply an extension of a necessary and inevitable economic evolution, whose progress can no more be stayed than that of the hurricane or tidal wave. So far as production is concerned, the trust has introduced no new principle, no new meliorations. The trust is not then an evolution, but a revolutionary institution, in the field of exchange.



Let us trace its growth out of the soil prepared for it, starting from the convenient epoch of 1873. Too much labor and capital in machine production, cut-throat competition, and rate-cutting had brought about a state of things which was intolerable. *Laissez-faire* had gone to seed. The first experiment toward relief was cooperative. Three stages are distinguishable.

1. Mere occasional conferences of operators in some line of business frequently accompanied by festivity. Notes were compared, suggestions interchanged, and a general understanding came to.

2. Stated and periodical meetings of operators, resulting in rate sheets, fee bills, price lists, and other devices for maintaining common prices.

3. Compactly organized federations, undertaking to give relief from the effects of competition, by (a) dividing the business or (b) dividing territory, or (c) dividing receipts according to agreed proportions. These associations soon came to be called "pools" and frequently attempted to reward the faithful of their members by premiums, and to visit the delinquent with penalties. There was, however, no actual sanction to the pool, and human virtue gave way when business could be attracted by cutting a rate or price. When at length the judiciary declared pooling to be "in restraint of trade" and therefore "illegal" there were few to mourn at the funeral.

We are now about the end of the 70's. The old evils persist: excessive competition, unstable prices, men utterly worn out with the fight in the industrial arena. The second experiment begins on a principle new to the generation, but not to history. There were times in the course of the feudal system, when many small proprietors were unable to protect their homes, their fields, and their retainers against raids and forays of so-called robber-barons. In such times some powerful noble would come forward, and say to his weaker brothers, "Swear fealty to me, give over your lands, array yourselves under my banner, and I will be your protector." Then arose that custom known as "commendation" under which independence was sacrificed to security. The original trust seems to me closely analogous to "commendation." I think it safe to declare that in every case there was a "promoter" sharp, enterprising, not over scrupulous, the counterpart of the great land protector under early feudal-

ism. Individual operators were just as keen to put themselves under his leadership, as was he for the glory and profit of a grand enterprise. Storm-tossed on the sea of competition, they longed for a quiet haven wherein to rest. The trust proper was thus born. Its essence, a small body of men (called trustees) dominated by a promoter, to whom individual proprietors assigned their plants, and stockholders their shares, receiving in exchange, so-called trust-certificates. A large majority of existing establishments, sometimes rising to eighty per cent, were taken into the fold, and the remainder, the less vigorous, were left to a fate easy to foresee, and which they soon met. These trustees managed the whole industry as if they were proprietors although they had not a shadow of legal title to the properties; they regulated output, assigned territory, and fixed prices, and held them fixed by factors' agreements. They closed many establishments embraced in the scheme; the sugar trust needed but one fourth of the existing plants to supply the whole United States with refined sugar, the whiskey trust shut up sixty-eight out of eighty distilleries. Here this remark, however, is in point, that had no trust been formed, many of these concerns would have succumbed in the competitive struggle.

The trust was immediately, silently, and remorselessly effective. Production in many great lines was reduced to accord with demand, and prices were held up to a level on which very satisfactory dividends could be distributed. Extortion was not necessary, and trust managers did not commonly resort to it. Nevertheless the trust was obnoxious. The small operators who had been "frozen out" raised a storm of denunciation. *Clamor ibat ad coelum* and the sympathy of the people responded to their appeals. Monopolies are always odious, and these trust monopolies, because secret and irresponsible, were especially so. It was rare that a public man wished, or dared, to stand up in defence of a trust. Attorneys-general in many states found plenty of common law precedents for attacking them, and legislatures multiplied statutes. About the beginning of the 90's the courts became persuaded that trusts were illegal, and a few such decisions as those in *The Chicago Gas Trust Case*,<sup>2</sup> *New York v. North River Sugar Refining Co.*,<sup>3</sup> and *Ohio v. Standard Oil Co.*<sup>4</sup> brought trust managers generally to the same opinion. Trusts in their original and proper form disappeared like the

morning dew, only to reappear in the new form of giant corporations. Because the change was not known, nor understood by many, nor because the same concerns under the same direction, and with the same agents and apparatus, seemed to be going on, the old name of "trust" was held on to, and still persists in our discussions. Von Halle observes that in some instances, individuals owning trust certificates were hardly aware of the change of organization, and much less did they understand the nature of the change. Giant corporations have replaced the illegal and obnoxious "trust," but the people, perhaps unjustly, delight to refer to them by the old and obvious name. There are many variants in the organization of these corporations, but one feature is never lacking, that a small clique controls the central body, and through it all its satellites. Where newly-formed, and not merely reorganized trusts, they pursue the same policy of taking in a large majority of previously independent concerns and leaving the remainder to their fate. The result is practical monopolization of the particular industry. As if to render such organization and policy easy, certain states have enacted general corporation laws of extraordinary liberality. New Jersey took the lead in generous hospitality. Her laws require but one resident director; place no limits on capitalization; exempt stockholders from liability for corporate debts; authorize stock issues on the basis of property and rights of action; confer such latitude of powers that *ultra vires* may be impossible; call for no publication of reports, and impose the lowest taxes (charter one fiftieth of one per cent of capital, annual tax one tenth of one per cent of capital).<sup>5</sup> The state of Delaware has very lately modified her corporation laws, to make them even more liberal than those of New Jersey. A company organized to promote and assist incorporations in Delaware, allege the following advantages of that state over those offered by New Jersey:

1. Original fee twenty-five per cent less than in New Jersey.
2. Annual tax only half of that of New Jersey.
3. Meetings of stockholders and directors may be held anywhere. (New Jersey stockholders must meet in New Jersey.)
4. Stock and transfer book may be kept anywhere.
5. Difficult for intermeddlers to examine books.
6. Liability of stockholder absolutely limited.

7. Stock may be issued for services as well as property.
8. Certain classes of corporation specially favored, railroad, telegraph, steam, heat, power, etc.
9. Annual report need not reveal secrets of corporation.
10. No record of amount of stock held by any incorporator.<sup>6</sup>

Under the comity between states, guaranteed by the National Constitution, corporations legally incorporated in any state may pursue their lawful business anywhere. It is not, therefore, strange that New Jersey, in particular, has become the home of corporations, piratical and other.

It is reported that some fifteen thousand combinations with an aggregate capitalization of eight billion dollars have been organized under her laws. Of this number one hundred twenty four, all having the character of trusts, with a capitalization of three billion dollars were incorporated in the fiscal year which ended September 28, 1899. At least two hundred New Jersey corporations with a capital of five billion dollars have the character of trusts. It is under the liberal provisions of New Jersey corporation law, that the Northern Securities Company has been recently formed for the express purpose of taking over the ownership and control of the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Burlington systems. There is no better illustration of what is called in this paper, a trust-corporation. Its legality has been attacked by the attorneys-general of Minnesota, and of the United States. Minnesota's complaint is, that the "merger" is violative of the statute forbidding the purchase of parallel railway lines within her territory. The complaint of the United States is, that the consolidation is a violation of the so-called Sherman Anti-Trust Law. It would be a reckless thing to guess at the outcome of the litigation, which will be looked for with greater interest than any since the Dred Scott case. Should the Northern Securities Company be forced to dissolve, the properties of the three systems will still be in the control of the persons who are now its stockholders.

On March 14, 1904, the Supreme Court of the United States by a vote of five judges to four affirmed the decree of the Circuit Court dissolving the Northern Securities Company and on the ground of its disobedience to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of July 2, 1890. If that organization did not in terms declare its intention to abolish competition its New Jersey charter was drawn in a way to grant opportunity

and power to do so, and the court presumed that under existing circumstances advantage would be taken of the opportunity. "The combination is," said the court, "within the meaning of the act, a trust."<sup>7</sup>

The action of the United States Government in 1918 asking for "continuances" in the cases of the United States Steel Corporation and some others is a most notable emergence and leaves the citizen at a loss what to expect.

Having thus ascertained the genesis of the trust, and described its successive phases of evolution, we are ready for an inquiry into its nature. A clear understanding of the character of trust corporations is absolutely necessary in this discussion. It is glibly remarked by their members and friends, that, as already stated, the trust is simply a new advance along a line of economic progress, as steady, and certain as the stars in their courses; that it is the outcome of the operation of certain "laws of trade" whose wheels will grind to powder all men and institutions, which do not promptly get out of the way. Not to engage in any strife about words, it may be conceded that the trust-corporation is the outcome of an evolution; still it must be contended that its development is not in the extension of the line along which large production took place. Cheap production by means of motors and machines, science, assorted labor, and expert management had, as we have argued, culminated before the trust was born. The trust had its origin, and its development has been, in the field of distribution. The market, not the shop, has been its sphere of action. The trust is an economic institution sure enough. Its great end and aim is gain for the proprietors, and what is more, sure gain; a profit "incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away."

To ensure this profit, two means are employed; the first, monopolization, practical monopolization of the whole plant, and apparatus of an industry, of the regulated product, and the agencies of distribution; also, in some cases, of the supply of raw material. Ancillary to this is the destruction of all competition in the purchase of material, the employment of labor, and the sale of product. With such a dam across the stream of an industry, it is easy to maintain a level of prices, as sure as anything in this world can be, to show a balance on the right side of the ledger, and take physical shape, in private cars, and villas, and yachts, and I must add, in magnificent endowments of hospitals, museums, libraries, and universities.

So far as its line of things is concerned the *trust abolishes the market*.

The second means of gain is speculation. In some instances this may not have been a part of the original scheme; but the present almost universal issue and sale of common stock, by trust corporations, make it safe to assert that speculative operations are expected, and certainly they are going on as any daily newspaper will show. The trust corporation is organized and operated to exploit the produce of industry rather than to develop new facilities of production.

There remains the question, what, if anything, is to be done with this institution still so youthful, but so gigantic and tremendous? With some, the answer is ready. Trusts are monopolies, down, down with them on the spot. They quote *Malus usus abolendus est*. A long continued series of outrages persisted in by the trusts might so incense and arouse the people, as to result in constitutional legislation for their utter destruction. This will not happen. The managers of trusts, being children of the world, are wise in their generation. Assured in their expectations of unfailing profit, they are the less desirous of excessive returns. Extortion does not in the long run, pay. They know their own interests too well to invite destruction, and it may be admitted that the sudden annihilation of trust-corporations might bring public and private damage far more mischievous than all the injury they have thus far actually wrought. Corporations in some form are absolutely necessary to existing civilization. Capital must be aggregated, under expert management, possessing what Blackstone calls a "kind of legal immortality."<sup>3</sup> There is danger that attempts at uprooting of the trust corporation may undermine the fabrics of corporations which do not monopolize, and whose agency is indispensable to society. The problem of the day is then, not how to annihilate, but how to restrict and control the trust-corporation. And the solution of this problem is not to be facilitated by wild declamation, nor any amount of newspaper reviling. The limits of the occasion do not permit a serious attack upon the problem of regulating trust-corporations. I will only ask leave to summarize what has been presented, and to add some suggestions excluded from the discussion thus far, for the sake of clearness.



1. The trust did not give rise to large production, and its accompanying economics, but succeeded to that régime.

2. The prime object of the trust is to monopolize, which implies the exclusion of competition, the obliteration of the market, and the closing of the doors of opportunity to capital and labor, which, were the field free, would offer their services to the public.

3. The secondary object is exploitation, i.e., greedy speculation. The speculative characteristic means, that by over-capitalization and waiting, the promoters intend to take possession of any unearned increment of value which may accrue from monopoly, and demand from the public continuing dividends thereon.

4. The temptations to which institutions thus constituted are exposed are:

- a. To impoverish material men, or to squeeze them out completely, and seize and engross the original deposits
- b. To depress wages
- c. Reduce quality of goods or services
- d. To restrict output
- e. To extort excessive prices
- f. To subordinate service to exploitation, and regulate the volume of production so as to "bull" or "bear" the stock market
- g. To use wealth, influence, and talent to corrupt legislators, judges, commissioners, and taxing authorities.

The last item may be dismissed with the remark that it affects individuals, partnerships, and associations of many sorts. Trust managers have no monopoly in the lobby. They may have exceptional influence, however. Here come certain admirable persons, comfortable bodies, who do not feel responsible for the universe, with the assuring suggestion that there is no need of alarm, neither of any political gymnastics. "If," they say, "the trust proprietors are riding too high, the laws of trade will presently bring them low. They know their own interests far too well, to undertake to fleece, or to deceive, the public. They will never dare to refuse the demands of organized labor. Their interests run with those of the public." There is force in these suggestions. To hold their monopoly intact, trust corporations will, for a time at least, forego excessive and open

extortion, and exert themselves to render good service and sell honest goods, so far as they are directed by wise and honest men.

There are some who hold to the conviction that a trust can never so stifle and suppress competition as to maintain air-tight and continuing monopolies. This is the view of Professor John Bates Clark, known to many here as standing in the fore-front of American economists. "Potential competition," said Professor Clark, at the late Chicago conference, "potential competition will clip the wings of any trust which soars too high."<sup>9</sup> For myself, I can not take this serene and comfortable view, however devoutly I could hope it might prove to be the true one. To have our great industries carried on by benevolent fraternities, desiring only moderate recompense for the best service, living the austere lives of anchorites, and devoting their surplus income to art, education, charity, and religion, is an ideal not to be approximated in our day. The trust-corporations are engineered by men of like passions with ourselves, eager for the power and consideration which flow from great wealth. They are under the stress of great temptations, and feel themselves justified by the ancient and economic creed of "the devil take the hindmost." They need the moderating hand and voice of the law to keep them in the paths of virtue. The state must control the trusts or the trusts will dominate the state. The state will control them. There is plenty of good doctrine and principle to justify her interference. It is ancient and elementary in law, that corporations are created by law "when it is for the public advantage." The common law, for ages, has abhorred monopolies. Equally venerable is the doctrine that whenever property is affected by a public interest, it ceases to be *sui juris*, and may be regulated by law. I submit that whenever a trust-corporation has completely monopolized an industry, or the supply of material, and the machinery of distribution, it may be considered, and treated, as having become, by its own act, a public institution and agency, in an eminent sense. It is within the just powers of government to attach any requisite conditions not only to the creation of corporations, but to their continuance. In spite of Dartmouth College decisions, the American people need not, and they will not, consent that their rights may be indefinitely chartered or contracted away by the government of a day.



How wisely to apply these principles is the task of our younger economists and statesmen, less fettered than those passing off, by the traditions of *laissez-faire* economics. Among the propositions now before the public are such as these:

- Enlarged liability of stockholders
- Large responsibility of directors and officials
- Prohibition of over-capitalization and stock-watering
- Reduction of tariff when industry is monopolized
- Change in legal character of labor-contract
- Progressive taxation on income and dividends
- Prohibition of buying and selling their own stocks
- Limiting the magnitude of corporations
- Public ownership of all natural monopolies, mines, railroads, gas and water works, wharves and docks, etc., thus obliterating the corresponding corporations
- Abolition of all private corporations
- United States Government license (with visitation) of all corporations for interstate business

These I do not enter upon. The difficulty of applying such remedies under our comity of state, and New Jersey, hospitality is apparent. There is a proximate remedy, which I have commended to my students for many years and now widely mentioned, summed up in the phrase "sunlight of publicity." The right of visitation of corporations, lodged in the British Crown, the chancery and parliament, inherited by the state in America, though greatly impaired in our country, has never fallen into complete neglect. In our own state, inquiry into the affairs of corporations, may be made by the legislature, the governor, the attorney-general, the public examiner, the superintendent of schools, the insurance commissioner, and perhaps other officials. This immemorial right of visitation might well be reinvigorated, and applied to monopolizing corporations, and with even greater propriety, to such as enjoy any public franchise. The affairs of such institutions are public affairs, and the public is entitled to complete knowledge of them. This principle is operated with vigor in the supervision of national banks by the Treasury, and the inspection of our state banks of Minnesota by the public examiner.<sup>10</sup> Such inspection would greatly brace up the virtue of directors and officials, and would quiet many injurious suspicions, harbored in the minds of people.

But this knowledge of the doings and dealings of corporations is not enough. If the monopolizing corporations render a service to the public in maintaining stable prices, and for this they are much commended, it is because of the knowledge which their managers have, or may have, of the state of their trade. Through their experts they know the cost of material, the cost of production, the cost of selling, and the probable demand for their goods. As long as *they* have such knowledge, and the *public* have it not, the corporations will be likely to exploit the public. From time immemorial, all trades have been each an art and mystery, concealed as much as possible from the world of consumers. To keep sacredly the secrets of the craft was part of the education and duty of the craftsman and merchant; and this tradition has been perpetuated, with the result that in fixing prices, the cost of production and distribution is subordinated and, as much as possible, kept out of sight. Prices, therefore, are fixed on the principle of what the traffic will bear in competition with dealers. In our ignorance of true costs, the trust, which can suppress competition, has the public by the throat. In the public economy of the future, the gathering and dissemination of economic facts and knowledge will be the prime function of government. The department of statistics at state and national capitals will overshadow every other, and the knowledge of products, their costs and uses ought to be so general that no dealer can deceive, and no clique can rig the market.<sup>11</sup> In regard to a few great staple products, the public may already know in a general way, the ordinary supply and demand, the cost of production, and other facts affecting price. As our state and national statistical bureaus are extended and perfected, such knowledge will become more exact, and will be extended to embrace other products, until finally the whole market may be an open book to all men who have eyes to see with. The time should soon come when no clique of speculators can possibly be better informed as to the state and prospects of the market than the people at large, through their public statistical agencies. The people perish for lack of knowledge. Some day we shall be using our higher schools to diffuse economic knowledge. In place of the ablative absolute and Sturm's theorem, of the lists of French kings, and Mariotte's law, our children's children will be taught

the nature and properties of cereals, coal, ores and metals, textile plants, tea, coffee, fruits, spices, and the things made from them, where all these come from, how they are produced, and how they are interchanged between continents, states, and communities. When the public come to be fully informed they will be likely to be alert. "Combines" will not long be able to exploit the social industry. The remedy of President Hadley, the turning up of noses, and giving the cold shoulder to speculators and engrossers, which has provoked a great deal of mild sarcasm, mostly undeserved, will become operative and efficient. In the face of intelligent, resolute, and unanimous public denunciation, few men will have the courage or the willingness to endure the odium that will rest on those who would live and thrive by exploitation.

It is now more than a quarter of a century since the enactment of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. While certain combinations, such as the Northern Securities Company, and the Tobacco and Sugar trusts have been forced into dissolution because held to be "in restraint of trade," the cases of other combinations such as the United States Steel Corporation, the International Harvester Company, and the United Shoe Machinery Company still remain pending in the courts. Within a few months the Government has asked for a suspension of proceedings on the ground that should dissolution be decreed (and this would seem to be taken for granted by the Government) the resulting private financing might injuriously interfere with the floatation of its war loans. There have been from the beginning, statesmen whose opinions are entitled to respect, who believe that the act should never have been passed. Great combinations, they hold, are inevitable in an era of large production, and they ought to be regulated, not abolished. There are those who believe that the act can never be fully and impartially enforced.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> U. S. Census Reports, 1850 and 1870.  
Round numbers are used.

<sup>2</sup> 130 *Illinois* 268, 1859.

<sup>3</sup> 121 *New York* 528, 1870.

<sup>4</sup> 490 *Ohio* 137, 1892.

<sup>5</sup> For a partial list see Von Halle, *Trusts* p. 328. 1895.

<sup>6</sup> Ely, *Monopolies and Trusts* p. 277.

<sup>7</sup> 193 *United States* 197-411. Printed as *Senate Document 232*, 58th Congress, 2d session.

<sup>8</sup> *Commentaries* bk. 1, ch. 18.

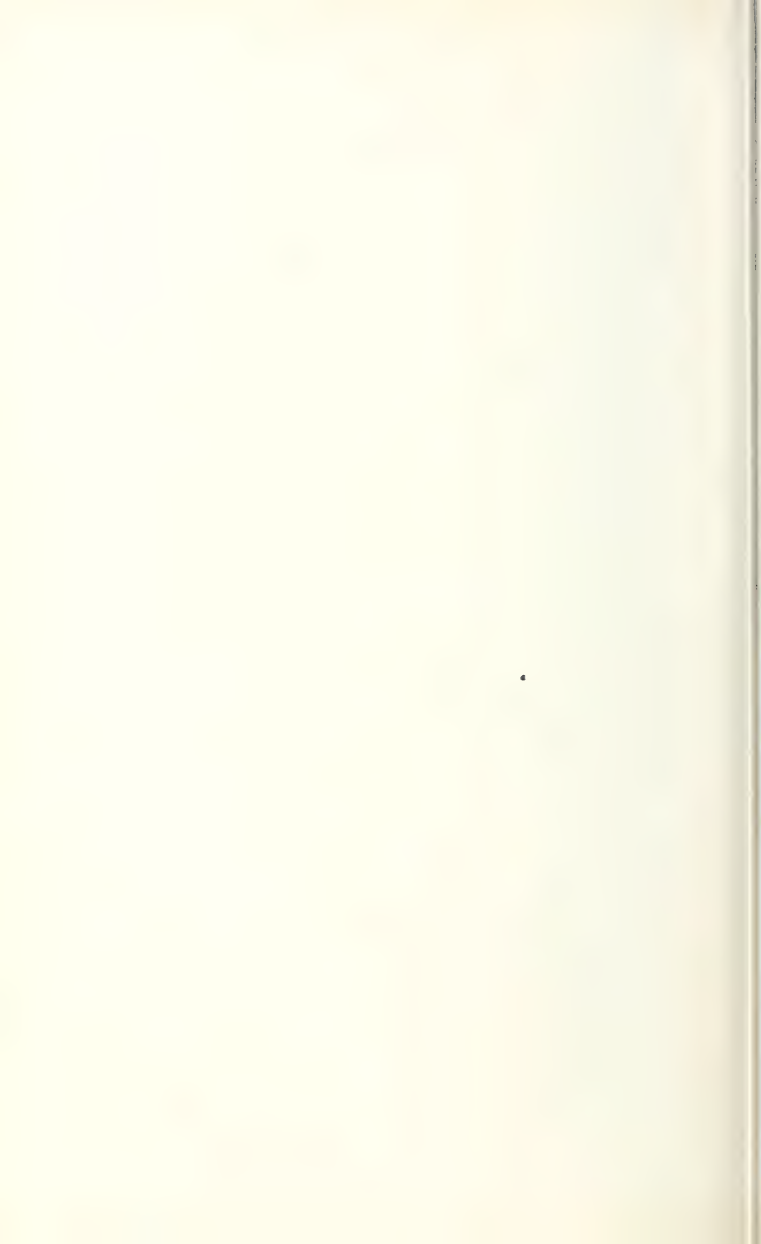
<sup>9</sup> J. B. Clark, *Modern Distribution Process* p. 6. Boston. 1888.

<sup>10</sup> By sec. 3, Laws of 1909 the supervision of State banks was transferred to the superintendent of banks whose office was then established.

<sup>11</sup> The reader will perhaps observe that the author has again paraded this, his favorite hobby.



THE SINGLE TAX



## THE SINGLE TAX

On the evening of January 3, 1899, Mr. Henry George spoke in the Lyceum theatre in Minneapolis, Minnesota, to a large and interested audience on his favorite theme, "The Single Tax." Returning from the lecture on a street car the writer was asked by some of his students to speak in reply. "Hire a hall, and I will try," was the response. That was done. His address was delivered on the evening of January 31, 1899. On request of the Minnesota Legislature it was repeated in the hall of the House of Representatives. The following pages contain the address substantially as written out in intervals of exacting duties. While the speaker has not materially changed his views, he would, if writing anew, endeavor to improve his diction, and would probably suppress some passages that border on levity.

When Mr. Henry George appeared in this hall some days ago, all present were instantly charmed with his personality. His well-set figure, and massive head, his gracious eye and kindly face bespoke him at once, as one of those persons, "who"—to use a happy Emersonian phrase—"who are to be considered." He is a man very much in earnest. He is full of that "enthusiasm of humanity" which inspires reformers. Mr. George cares for his fellowmen and desires with all his heart to see liberty and comfort everywhere increased. Let us follow his excellent example of going at once to the business in hand.

First: the question which meets us is, do existing conditions and circumstances permit the consideration of the single tax, so-called, as a practicable working scheme in these United States? Granting for the moment all that Mr. George claims for it as an ideal plan of taxation, *can it be worked*, as men and things now are in this country? To this question I answer "No": for these reasons: first, it is of the essence of this scheme of taxation that it be *single* and *exclusive*. Its advocates expressly, and with great emphasis, insist on the abolition and abandonment of all other taxes, because, adopting Mr. George's phrase "either stupid or unjust or both." They believe and declare that existing taxes amount to fines levied upon labor and capital and Mr. George insinuated that they are intended so to operate.

All existing plans and ways of collecting revenue, national, state, and local, are then to be cleared away, before the single tax can go into effect. Let us suppose that the whole ninety millions of us should be converted to the gospel of the single



tax in the course of the calendar year now passing, I think it ought to take about a generation to make the change of systems. A state is a vast and complicated thing, and a revenue system is a large element in a state. Said Burke, in a happy but justifiable hyperbole, "The Revenue of the State is the State."<sup>1</sup> By pursuing for years and ages a certain public policy, government clothes citizens with rights, claims if you prefer the word, as against the state. She invites citizens to form settlements, to employ capital and labor in certain industries, and enters into covenant of quiet enjoyment.

At the beginning of the present government of the United States, we established and have since maintained, a revenue system expressly devoted to inducing citizens to embark in manufactures, and we have endowed transportation with untold millions.

Governments are, therefore, in the practice of sane and just men, estopped from sudden economic revolutions. Especially is this true of proposed revolutions of the land-laws of a people, for these laws prescribe and predetermine the very nature of the state. Grant to a legislature the power to fix the tenure and descent of lands, and in the words of Tocqueville, it "may rest from its labors. The machine once put in motion will go on for ages, and advance as if self-guided, toward a given point."<sup>2</sup> Primogeniture will develop an aristocracy, partible inheritance moves towards democracy. No nation of ninety millions can or ought to make a great and radical revolution in its housekeeping, in the time it takes the legislative clerks to call the roll. But not to make too much of this phase, let it be granted that this nation could skip from its old revenue system to a new one as easily as Harlequin shifts his jackets and masks; provided the American people had undergone the necessary change of heart, and had resolved to leave off compelling themselves to pay unjust and stupid taxes and tariffs, operating as fines. Let this be granted, we meet the question are the American people *likely* to be *suddenly* and *presently* converted? It is demanded specifically that the tariff must go to make room for the single tax. Do you think the protective system is about to fade away suddenly like the grass? Where have you been hiding since the kalends of November? It was a square issue between protection and free trade.

The reference was, of course, to the presidential campaign of 1898, in which Cleveland was defeated by Harrison on a clean tariff issue.

Every possible argument, pro and con, was blazoned from the stump and spread out in the columns of the pamphlet, book, and newspaper press. There were no distracting side-issues. The day of trial came. Did you hear it? Did you hear the voice of the people on the sixth of November?

"It came as the winds come when forests are rended;

It came as the waves come when navies are stranded,"  
a complete triumphal approval and ratification of the protective principle and system. No matter what any one's private opinion may be, every one will admit this result as a cold, solid fact.

I am but a moderate protectionist, and free trade ideals are dear to my heart; what I fear is that it will be impossible to obtain in the present generation those modifications and reductions of tariff, which protectionists of the reasonable sort, demand. Abolish protection? Abolish indirect taxation by imposts on imported goods in one day? It will take a Joshua mightier than the commander of Israel to roll back the wheels of protection.

To work the single tax, the taxes on franchises of every sort and the license taxes on liquor selling must go. Is there anything in the present state of the public mind on these subjects, to indicate an early abandonment of these forms of taxation? The internal revenue taxes on whiskey and tobacco must go; and, because (along with all other existing means of taxation) they are "stupid and unjust," the nation must be forever debarred from reëstablishing any similar internal revenue system, no matter what dangers threaten within or without. Will the nation disarm?

The speaker might have remarked that under the single tax régime, the nation, the state, and all municipalities would be debarred from levying taxes for the restraint of monopolies, the discouragement of vice and immorality, the abolition of impure foods, the preservation of game, and "social purposes" generally.

Further, we have not merely to deal with particular existing statutes and machinery for collecting public revenue, but with ideas, prejudices, and customs so ancient that "the memory of men runneth not to the contrary"; with ideas and doctrines running back to the time of Aristotle at least. There is an

idea that as all forms of property are protected by the state, they may all be rightly subjected to taxation if the public needs require. The single tax men know but one kind of property, which may be justly taxed, and that, they are proposing to abolish. There is the idea that as all persons are under the protection of the state, so all persons may, if the public needs require, be called upon to contribute to the support of the government and its reasonable purposes. The single tax doctrine is not to touch persons, as such, but only as they are receivers of the public, of the rents and profits of land. Again there is the idea that as all industries and employments are protected by the state, the government may, if public needs demand, collect some fraction of the returns and profits of industry and incomes of well-paid employees and professional people.

I do not accept either of these propositions, protection of property, or protection of persons, as the ultimate ground of the taxing power. They are incidental considerations. Here I am only insisting that the ideas are ancient, traditional, and everywhere accepted.

There is no possible room or justification for an excise, inheritance, or income tax, under the single tax régime.

Second; there is another idea, which has played a great part in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race, embodied in an epigram, as familiar to every English-speaking man as the immortal rhymes of Mother Goose "no taxation without representation." Now let this doctrine be as absurd as the romance of Peter Wilkin, grant that it was never anything more than an airy and impracticable revolutionary rallying cry, still no man in his senses will deny that "no taxation without representation" is stamped across every page of his political history.

Our American colonists objected to being taxed by a foreign legislature, in which they had no representation. The cry "no representation" had no reference to tax-paying as a qualification for voting. It is a novel and strained use of the phrase by advocates of suffrage extension, when they claim that all persons owning taxable property should have the right to vote.

Defiance of this immemorial tradition cost one of the Stuart kings his crown, and another his crown and head to boot. "No taxation without representation" was the cry which nerved the hearts and steadied the aim of the embattled farmers at Lexington and Concord. It may have been a miserable mocking

delusion, but the same sentiment bore up the courage of the soldiers of the Revolution from Lexington to Yorktown, and cemented into one national union Roundhead of New England, Virginian Cavalier, Quaker of Pennsylvania, Catholic of Maryland; English, Dutch, German, Swede, all faiths, all bloods, and all interests. In obedience to sentiment universal at the time, the framers of the national constitution provided that "direct taxes and representation shall be apportioned according to population, and not according to property or values of any kind." Taxation and representation, are in the national code, coextensive and inseparable.

The doctrines I have enumerated are embodied in every one of our state constitutions. The Minnesota Constitution further provides that all taxes shall be "equal" as nearly as may be, and it will be sometime before the people of this state shall be persuaded that "equal" means laying all taxes on some one class, or some one kind of property.

The new section to Article 9 of the Minnesota Constitution, adopted November 6, 1900, empowers the legislature to select classes of "subjects" for taxation, and requires that taxes shall be "equal upon the same class of subjects." Up to this time no material changes have been made in the system.

Third; the single tax scheme, alone and exclusive, is also impracticable because of our complicated American government. We have three systems of taxation, working side by side, and two or more independent agencies of tax administration. We have a national system of indirect taxation by means of imposts on imported merchandise, and by internal revenue excises on certain selected manufactures. We have also state taxes, and local taxes administered by mixed agencies of state and local officials. The single taxers do not inform us what agency they propose to employ. There would be no sense in using two or three agencies for administering a *single* tax system. Some one of these existing jurisdictions, national, state, or local must be made the primary agent for obtaining the single tax revenue, and be required to pay over to the other two their respective shares. Do you expect the state governments will subordinate themselves to their creatures, the town and city authorities, and exist by their sufferance? Far more likely it is that the power of local taxation by cities and towns would vanish away and the

municipalities content themselves as best they could with such moneys as the state legislature should dole out to them. Local government, the pride of American and Anglo-Saxon free men, would of consequence disappear. But how would the state governments fare when it came to the question whether they or the national government should be primary collectors of the single tax revenue? Does not every schoolboy know that we changed the government of the United States in 1789 from a confederation to a national union, chiefly, almost exclusively, because the states would not collect and pay over the "quotas" imposed by Congress? Schoolboys may not know, but grown men ought to know, what kind of tax it was that the old Congress of the Confederation tried in vain for years to extort from the reluctant states. Some of us may have forgotten, so let me remind you that it was a single tax on improved lands after an idea imported from France along with other political bric-à-brac. The framers of the constitution of 1789 applied themselves to make a national government which should not need the interposition of any state, to raise and collect its revenue. They put into that document a power to raise revenue, absolute, unassailable, irrevocable. And this power has been defined and supported by a long course of supreme adjudication. With a standing army, and a navy which we now talk of making the most formidable that ever ploughed the seas, do you think the national government will surrender her unquestioned, traditional, unlimited, supreme power of taxation? It is absurd to expect it.

I think it much to be feared that a people so martial in character as the Americans would wish to raise and maintain a standing army of 500,000 men and a navy of 200 battleships with all necessary accompaniments. As this volume goes to press the United States Government with the full and hearty approval of the people is engaged in raising an army of two millions, and a navy of innumerable bottoms. And it is predicted by some persons whose judgment may prove to be sound that we shall in the coming three years increase the army to five millions. How charming a contrivance for raising the billions of money would the single tax be!

The single tax scheme if worked at all, must be engineered by the general government and its agents, and the states and all municipalities through the states will enjoy only such revenues as Congress shall see fit to apportion and pay over. Under such a scheme the forms of democracy, might, indeed, survive,

but the state and the government would, in essence be imperial. Of all tyrants the many-headed tyrant is the one most to be dreaded.

For these reasons: (1) the impossibility of clearing away existing taxes; (2) the persistence of ancient custom and industries; (3) the peculiar and complicated nature of our American government; for these reasons, which are by no means all, as stated and discussed, I submit the conclusion, that the single tax, the exclusive tax on land values, has no claim to consideration as a practicable working plan, in this country, in our day.

Let us next examine the single tax scheme as a mere doctrine, as an ideal thing. It is a grateful and indeed not an unfruitful exercise to let our minds play freely on great and serious matters; to let the imagination soar a little skyward; nay 'tis well to dream betimes, of Utopias and blessed isles. What do these dreamers say? First of all, that all taxes except the proposed single tax on land value are, "either stupid or unjust or both," and I hear no exceptions made on account of stress of war or famine or other calamity. They assume, then, a state of continuous and universal peace. Does the history of this nation or of any nation warrant any such exceptions? Must a nation, beleaguered and invaded, lay down its arms, and accept the terms of the foe, at the point where the revenue from single tax, on land values shall have been exhausted? Were that the doctrine of the world, one single nation, not so scrupulous about collecting taxes from persons, chattels, incomes, franchises, and so on, would soon dictate the conditions of existence to all the rest. The single tax, as advocated, endangers, if not denies, the right and power of nations to maintain their organized existence. The old common law theory suits me better, that a free and a brave people may "rob the cradle and the grave" to recruit their defensive forces and throw the last dollar they can wring from the orphan and the widow into the military chest.

These dreamers assume the continuous and universal advancement of society; population always on the increase and evenly so, wealth increasing, intelligence and virtue always abounding more and more. The world does move, has moved, but never on any continuous line of advance by steady and unbroken march. The lot of civilized man in general has been painful and stormy. The progress of particular nations has been by



fits and starts, periods of depression succeeding as by a kind of rhythm, to epochs of advance. There have been times in the history of this country when the rental value of land would hardly have paid the salaries of the town clerks. Fortunately, unjust and stupid taxes on imports, on incomes, and property of many kinds saved us from political marasmus. The progress of wealth and population is not uniform in different parts of the country. Population shifts and industries migrate. Rents go down in New England and go up in Dakota. One New York county, with which I have been acquainted, declined in population from 1860 to 1870 and again in the decades 1880 and 1890. That county was on the whole, probably richer in the administration of John Quincy Adams than it has been since. I should like to know if any provision will be made by the single taxers to reimburse the Seneca county farmers for so much rental value as has been already taxed out of them in excess of justice? In such counties the revenue from a single tax on land values would be sometimes a minus quantity.

The old farm on which the speaker grew up has lately been sold for \$25 an acre. The soil is excellent, the buildings substantial; the distance to New York is three hundred miles, and there is a railroad station on one corner.

However, it may be expected by the single tax apostles that the great national taxing machine would equalize such things.

The enthusiasts again, make no allowances for those disasters which in every generation wreck cities, dismantle provinces, and even involve continental areas in vast loss and ruin. Famine is chronic in India and China.<sup>3</sup> In the latter empire only last year one million five hundred thousand people were left homeless and starving from the overflow of a single great river. Would the single tax on land be convenient for those poor worms of the dust? If no other tax could, without injustice, be collected, would the government of that province be able to bury the dead? A very few years ago, several counties lying within a half day's journey of this spot, larger in aggregate area than any one of several considerable nations, were desolated for three seasons by the red-legged grasshopper. The surface of the land was swept as clean of vegetation as the pavements of our streets. The governor of this state locked his office door for many days and hastened to see what might be done for

the stricken people. What he did as an official is a part of the history of the state; what he did as a man, is known only to himself, his wife, and the recording angel. How distressing it is to reflect that at this time the single tax doctrine had not been revealed. How might the suffering farmers have been comforted by that sweet doctrine of the unearned increment and the single tax on rent, which would relieve them of the last burden, their farms themselves.

Would a single tax on the unearned increment of city lots have been a convenience and a boon to the people of New Ulm and Rochester and Sauk Rapids, after the tornado had got in its work in those towns? States, like men, do wisely not to carry all their eggs in one basket. It is a principle of taxing systems to distribute the burden so that no one class, nor any kind of property or industry shall be ruined in case of disaster. There is no safety valve to the single tax boiler.

Again, these devotees of a mere theory assume that land is the only thing which increases in value, as population and wealth increase, if they do increase; and which derives value from community labor and social demand. It is a hackneyed truism that increasing demand is the prime force in raising values of all products (farms and gardens are products) and all services. An abounding population, if it swells demand, normally occasions a general increase of prosperity and wealth. According to single tax philosophy the community ought to appropriate to the common good whatever moiety or scintilla of value may have been caused by social order, protection, education, conservation, or other contribution. Let us take a single instance. Mr. George's late speech. The language and most of the sentiments of that ingenious and captivating address are and have for a long and indefinite time been the property of the whole people. He spoke with a degree of ease and confidence to indicate that speaking was rather a pleasure than a toil for him. He got, let us presume, \$100, a hundred ounces of silver, for that performance, and carried the same off with him to the *Standard* office. Now what gave that speech its selling value? Would the Comanches, or the Patagonians, or the natives on the left bank of the Niger, all of them actual practitioners of the philosophy which Mr. George is commending to the people of these United States, would they have paid their currencies to hear that speech?



"A fortiori, we might on the same principle (as that land is limited) insist on a division of human wit; for I have observed that the quantity of this has been even more inconveniently limited. Mr. George himself has an inequitably large share of it."<sup>4</sup>

Let us analyse the conditions which give value to such things as Mr. George's orations. First, Mr. George enjoys a monopoly of a certain kind of reasoning which I trust will remain his exclusive property. I allow something for that.

Next, there are a lot of people in this town. These people are civilized and possess a great body of inherited arts and industries which have long been common property. They have had themselves educated according to the best learning of all time and they have maintained at great expense a costly apparatus for the cultivation of religion and morality. I submit that the cash value of that speech and of all speeches and sermons and orations is given by the numbers, the labor, the saving, the virtue, and order of the people, and that Mr. George has, according to his own philosophy, robbed this city of a good round sum of money. In the next place, I dissent from the fundamental assumption of the single tax optimists,—that all land belongs to everybody. The statement is a vague and glittering generality, or perhaps better stated, it is the exaggeration and caricature of a doctrine true, but only true within reasonable limitations, and as understood by reasonable persons, who know and feel the inadequacy of language to express all that is in the minds of men. We assert the equality of all men and we understand those words in a certain reasonable way. We say that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and the statement is true, but only true in a reasonable sense. The words do not import that any individual or clique or party may withdraw his or their consent, refuse to pay taxes or serve on juries, or that resident aliens, minors, paupers, and idiots may vote. The state in a certain true sense owns all its territory, but the state's "eminent domain" does not conflict with the right of citizens to own lands by allodial tenure. The doctrine that the land of the world belongs to God's children is a harmless truism. What is it good for in actual politics? Nothing. It is a mere unworkable sentiment, void of all efficiency; "Void" as lawyers phrase it, "void for uncertainty." Only a limping, one-legged philosophy of property can bolster up

such a vagary, that all mankind taken collectively owns all the soil and waters of the planet.

This doctrine may never have been stated in clearer terms than by that distinguished apostle of temperance and anti-slavery, Gerrit Smith, in his speech in Congress on February 15, 1854, and in resolutions offered by him on January 16. The resolutions read:

"Whereas all the members of the human family, notwithstanding all contrary enactments and arrangements, have at all times, and in all circumstances, as equal a right to the soil, as to the light and air, because as equal a natural need of the one as of the other; and whereas, this invariably equal right to the soil leaves no room to buy, or sell, or give it away; therefore,

1. Resolved, that no bill nor proposition should find favor with Congress which implies the right of Congress to dispose of the public lands, or any part of them, either by sale or gift.

2. Resolved, that the duty of civil government in regard to public lands, and indeed to all lands, is but to regulate the occupation of them; and that this regulation should ever proceed upon the principle that the right of all persons to the soil,—to the great source of human subsistence,—is as equal, as inherent, and as sacred as the right to life itself."

In his speech Mr. Smith demanded in the name of justice that government should cease from selling or giving away what it can not own, the soil, and said, "Vacant land belongs to all who need it. It belongs to the landless of every clime and condition."

Gerrit Smith antedated Mr. George a whole generation.

Property right is an institution, an immemorial inheritance, not a theory. Rights, practical, reasonable, legal, rights do not descend from the clouds; they have grown up out of human experience and the nature of things.

These dreamers fall into another error, after the example of the socialists. They confuse value and utility. They talk of value where no exchanges take place, and of labor and capital producing value. Value appears only on the field of exchange, not in that of production. Much labor is not simply negatively useless, but positively destructive, as for example that employed on perpetual motion devices, in gambling, in the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, and the culture of tobacco. In their discussions they get themselves into such a tangle with their values—land-values, rental-values, real-values, selling-values, real selling-values, speculative values, that the ordinary intellect can not follow them, and political economists retire in despair.

Finally (under this head) these amiable proselytes neglect to take any account of probable political consequences of their

scheme, provided it were possible to clear the way for it. It is a common experience of nations that changes in their economic institutions are followed by totally unexpected consequences; so short is the sight of the wisest men. But there is one consequence of the scheme under discussion which experience may warn us from risking. Put all your taxes on any one class of persons, and you at once consolidate the members of it into a compact body ready either to embarrass and oppose the government or to take possession of the powers of the state and dictate the laws. I hardly know which of these inevitable alternatives is more to be feared. If the class selected be the landholding people, and they embrace a large majority of the voters I think, all experience teaches that they will surely and rapidly establish themselves as the ruling class in the state. In this day of large production when the fashion of large farms worked by machinery is coming into vogue, I am persuaded you would not have long to wait before a landed aristocracy showed its powerful grip upon your legislative department, placed its best men in your executive chairs and filled the bench of your supreme tribunals with judges whom it could depend upon. Mr. George himself suggests the best reason of all for expecting this result when he says, "The tax on land values is the only tax of any importance that does not distribute itself. It falls upon the owners of the land and there is no way in which they can shift the burden upon any one else."<sup>5</sup>

Mr. George does not propose to dispossess landlords, and reduce them to the condition of tenants of the state or municipality.<sup>6</sup>

He was thinking as an economist not as a politician. Lay the taxes on landlords and you may trust the real estate lawyers to find them a political way of escape from excessive burdens at least. It is with difficulty the people now submit to direct taxation in amounts sufficient to support those institutions which modern states must needs maintain. The public schools are ill-equipped, the teachers poorly paid. The university lags half a century behind the point to which she might advance in ten years if the money could be voted. Do you think things would be bettered if you placed the fortunes of the state in the hands of the landholding class? That class would name the assessors, and dictate the rates and the valuations, or human nature will

have undergone a new creation. From class government, good Lord, deliver us, evermore. I submit therefore that the single tax on land values as a theory fails to answer to the requirements of a reasonable system of taxation considered at large in the abstract.

Mr. George makes great account of the irregularities which attend the taxing systems in vogue, and he says much that is worth while. The science of government and in particular the economics of government are not far advanced. In the past the science has been cultivated by a few philosophers only. Economics has of late become, or is becoming, the science of the people, and there is ground for hope that valuable truths will be brought forth and useful devices invented to make government more efficient and its burdens lighter. I must say, however, that the suggestions and the reasonings of the school I am now dealing with are discouraging. Because nine ways are bad it does not follow that a tenth will certainly be good. Because the household pet of the Dutchman's story is utterly worthless in all known respects it is not safe to conclude that he will be infallible as a "coon dog" till you have tried him. The collecting of taxes on moneys and credits may be very unsatisfactory, but we may not conclude from that that a single tax on land values will be satisfactory. And these men make the radical mistake of all enthusiasts, in presuming that the adoption of their one idea will mend all matters. Criss-cross, hocus-pocus, presto change, now you see it and now you don't see it, and the miracle is done. "We believe," says Mr. George, in substance<sup>7</sup> "that in this simple measure of the single tax lies the remedy for the great social and political evils of our time." This is not the language of truth and soberness, it is the wild exclamation of the devotee of one idea.

Before I had gone far in this matter I was inclined to think that the single tax might work in some petty state, some remote and happy isle, some secluded mountain gorge, (whence population could escape only by the golden stairs) and where the passions of men would not be stirred by the storms that sweep over great nations. With regret I am forced to abandon this amiable conceit, because nature is against it and humanity is now incapable of the virtues it implies. For the realization of their dream I can only point our single tax friends to some heavenly consum-

mation, to some "Happy land, Far, far away, Where saints in glory stand, Bright, bright as day." Again my good nature gets the better of my judgment; in the celestial country there can be no single tax, or double tax, no mortgages to be sworn off, no personal chattels or credits to be listed, no tax on conscience there. Oh, sweet and blessed country, Where taxes ne'er shall be! Perish the thought which rises here like Banquo's ghost and will not down at my bidding. There is but one other place where population is ever on the increase and whence emigration is impossible. Perhaps in that unmentionable realm the unearned increment of land may form a common fund sufficient for all social needs. No one can object to the experiment there.

In the first division of this address I undertook to show that the single tax, can not be put in operation in our country and time. In the second, that, resting on unfounded assumptions, it has no merit as an ideal plan of taxation. In the few minutes remaining at my disposal I propose to show that the single-tax plan is not a plan of taxation at all in the proper sense of the word, and further that Mr. George did not originally propose the scheme as a scheme of taxation proper. What, let me ask, are taxes in free states? When the English commons were debating the question of taxing the colonies, Lord Chatham answered this question and settled it for English speaking freemen, for all time. Taxes in free states are not impositions on the people by outside and superior powers, they are the contributions of the citizens for public uses. The idea that taxes are a burden let down onto the people, is a survival from the great conquering empires of antiquity. It ought to have no place in the minds of intelligent modern thinkers. There two ideas inhere in the word tax, or rather two phases of one idea. The word at bottom, means to set in order, to arrange; and we have on the one hand the principle that taxes must be proportioned to the public needs, and on the other apportioned equitably among the persons who are to contribute.

The ultimate root is *tag*, to which may be traced the words *task*, *touch*, the Latin *tangere*, and the Greek *tasso*.

These principles are reasonable and in our day beyond dispute. No free people will for a moment consent that their agency, the government, may assess and collect taxes *ad libi-*

*tum* without regard to the purposes and duties of government. Nor will a wise people, by imposing the burdens of the state on any one class, lay the foundation for a claim by that class to rule the state.

Exactions of money, goods, or services not proportioned to public uses and not apportioned to private ability and interest are not, in any just sense of the word, taxes. Keeping this in mind let us examine Mr. George's position. The disciples of this teacher are insistent in season and out of season in commending the book *Progress and Poverty* as containing the whole gospel according to Saint George. It is, indeed, a notable book. The author has a happy art of elucidating abstruse economic doctrine by ingenious statement and happy illustration. His literary style is forceful, graphic, and generally chaste. The best qualities of the man, his ardent love of humanity and his burning desire to be of present service to all who toil and moil, shine on every page, but, I am forced to add, these merits only throw into strange relief the fallacy of his reasoning. One can not but regret the mistaken direction of splendid gifts. The fundamental assumption of this book is the one suggested by the title that human progress, under existing conditions, is necessarily accompanied by poverty, deepening, widening, irremediable poverty. This point we will not argue now. We will grant it for the moment. After laboring through several chapters with technical discussions of wages, interest, capital, and the population question to clear his way, Mr. George at length offers us the sole reason why poverty keeps pace with progress; that rent (i.e., land value) is always on the increase at the expense of wages. Landlords must always, if present institutions continue, be growing richer at the expense of labor. Well I will not now contend about this. We may agree that evils exist, and disagree as to remedies.

Addressing himself to the question of remedies our genial apostle argues in detail that the following proposed remedies are of no avail, against the impoverishment of the people.<sup>8</sup>

1. Greater economy in government
2. Better education, and improved habits
3. Combinations of workmen
4. Coöperation of labor and capital
5. Governmental direction and interference



## 6. More general distribution of land

To these remedies, proposed by men as wise and philanthropic, perhaps as Mr. George, he will allow no efficacy, not even a modifying or mitigating efficacy. They block the way, he declares, to the bringing in the sole and single remedy for poverty and its attending misery and crime, which he carries in his medicine case. On page 295, he states this remedy frankly in loud italic type "*We must make land common property.*" This is the bottom doctrine of the single tax men. This is the gospel according to Saint George.

In book seven, the author of *Progress and Poverty* proceeds to argue:

1. that private property in land is unjust;
2. that its ultimate result is the enslavement of laborers;
3. that private land owners have no claim on society for compensation for lands they pretend to own, because they are either robbers, or the successors and grantees of robbers.

On page 322, he says, "Private property in land is a bold, bare, enormous wrong like that of chattel slavery." Unsubstantial as such propositions may be, I can not turn from my present purpose to deal with them. Private property in land is, in Mr. George's opinion, the sole cause of (I quote)

"Want and suffering . . . among working classes . . .

"Industrial depression"

"Scarcity of employment . . . ."

"Stagnation of capital"

"The tendency of wages to the starvation point."<sup>9</sup>

For these vast, complicated, perennial, and appalling evils he sees but one remedy; a panacea, a patent ointment, a wizard oil, and that—"Common property in land." How then shall we compass it? he feels bound to inquire. I quote from his reply "We should satisfy the law of justice, we should meet all economic requirements, by at one stroke abolishing all private titles, declaring all land public property, and letting it out to the highest bidders in lots to suit, under such conditions as would securely guard the private right to improvements."<sup>10</sup> "But such a plan, though perfectly feasible, does not seem to me," Mr. George continues, "the best, or rather I propose to accomplish the same thing, in a simpler, easier, and quieter way than that of formally confiscating all the land and formally

letting it out to the highest bidders. . . . I do not propose [he proceeds] either to purchase land or to confiscate private property in land. The first would be unjust; the second, needless. Let the individuals who now hold, still retain if they want to, the possession of what they are pleased to call *their* land. Let them continue to call it *their* land. Let them buy and sell, and bequeath and devise it. We may safely leave them the shell, if we take the kernel. It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent."<sup>11</sup> Here we have it, the core and essence of the single tax philosophy. Confiscation, frankly and boldly, confiscation, Mr. George proclaims to be his aim.

Now confiscation and taxation are not the same thing, they are diverse and irreconcilable things. Taxation implies proportionment to public uses and apportionment to private ability and interest. Confiscation means forfeiture, transfer by force and arms to the public treasury, without any reference to, or regard for, the public needs. Mr. George will be personally content with proximate confiscation of rent, because he knows it leads to ultimate confiscation of land. He does not like racket and disturbance, and personally chooses the simple, easy, and quiet way of confiscating rent instead of an honest, thorough, rough-and-ready plan of universal eviction. A very important question arises here. It has many times happened in the history of evolutions that the early leaders, alarmed at impending consequences, unexpected, at some crucial moment, shrink from the logic of their premises, turn conservative and the command passes to less scrupulous men. Mr. George seems to be such a leader. He is now engaged with all the passion of a saint and a devotee, in persuading the poor, that their poverty proceeds from the private ownership of land. He tells wage workers, that landlords are robbing them and will go on robbing them to eternity, unless they smash the institution of private property in land. He is earnest, eloquent, continuing instant in his holy crusade. Suppose Mr. George to be successful in rallying to his cross and banner enough thousands of the working men of America to carry his revolution at the polls. Does Mr. George offer us any guaranty that he will then be able to control the wild spirits which will surround and support him? Will he be able to curb their wild ardor and persuade them to adopt



the easy, simple, and quiet way of doing the deed? The history of great social revolutions offers no hope of such a consummation. When you break the dam and let the waters loose, no human power can stay their course. But Mr. George not only desires to spare his fellow countrymen the unpleasantnesses which would attend the turning of everybody out of doors and putting all our homes up at auction, he is so tender and amiable that he will not even scare the good people with a naughty word. That word confiscation, a truly horrid malodorous word, he hastens to suppress, by another which can hold up its head in any respectable circle. Hear these comfortable words: "What I, (Henry George) therefore propose, as the simple, yet sovereign remedy, which will

raise wages

increase the earnings of capital

extirpate pauperism

abolish poverty

give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it

afford free scope to human powers

lessen crime

elevate morals, and taste, and intelligence

purify civilization to yet nobler heights

is to *appropriate rent by taxation*."<sup>12</sup>

Is it honest, Mr. George, to say taxation when you mean confiscation? Can you fool the four million farm owners of this land and get them to make believe they own those homesteads after your confiscating machine shall have knocked all exchange value out of land? Will they not understand as well as you do that "this simple device of placing all taxes on the value of land" will "be in effect putting up the land at auction to whoever" will "pay the highest rent to the state?"<sup>13</sup>

Mr. George's disciples in this region are now laboring to show that confiscation and taxation do not differ, that the state confiscates, when it taxes. Have they lost the power of understanding ordinary language? In all this fine talk about appropriating rent by taxation, there is no suggestion of limiting the collections to the public needs. The proposition is to confiscate the whole rental value. I quote: "In every civilized country, even the newest, the value of land taken as a whole is sufficient to bear the entire expenses of government. In the better devel-

oped countries it is more than sufficient. Hence it will not be enough merely to place all taxes on the land. It will be necessary, when rent exceeds the present governmental revenues, to commensurately increase the amount demanded in taxation, and to continue this increase as society progresses" . . . this is "understood in the proposition to put all taxes on the value of lands."<sup>14</sup> Call you this, taxation? The arming your government with power to collect from year to year sums of money in excess, to begin with, of the present public uses, and increase from year to year and generation to generation? "There would be a great and increasing surplus revenue," adds the author of *Progress and Poverty*, "from the taxation of land values, for material progress . . . would tend constantly to increase rent. This revenue arising from the common property could be applied to the common benefit, as were the revenues of Sparta. We might not establish public tables, they would be unnecessary" (query?) "but we could establish public baths, museums, libraries, gardens, lecture rooms, music and dancing halls, shooting galleries, play grounds, gymnasiums, etc. . . . We should reach the ideal of the socialist . . . . Government would change its character and would become the administration of a great coöperative society."<sup>15</sup>

The government will never exist, I submit, which any free people will entrust with a power to raise surplus revenue increasing annually to all eternity.

The language of Mr. George's addresses in this vicinity, though ingenious and guarded, is entirely consistent with that of his book. He used no such naughty word as confiscation; that would have shocked people. But he spoke of a tentative and entering wedge, and dropped mysterious suggestions of a theoretic perfection to be at length attained to. His theoretical perfection "we now understand to be the actual or the virtual confiscation of land and making it the common property of the state." As reported in the daily papers, Mr. George also said, "No one ought to be permitted to hold land that has a value" and "I think it necessary to take the entire rent value of land in order to fully carry out the justice of the single tax."

I trust I have made good my promise to show that the scheme of a so-called single tax on land values, as proposed and advocated by Mr. George is not in the proper sense of the word a

scheme of taxation, but is simply a device to work the destruction of the institution of private property in land, to change the character of our government, and work a revolution in society, whose consequences no human intelligence can foresee. These purposes Mr. George boldly avows. I wish all his followers had equal courage and better sense.

The hour is passing. There is no space to enter on a defense of private property, nor am I now called upon to apologize for ownership of homes and farms, and gardens and orchards. Private property in land is an ancient and venerable institution of gradual historic development. It is not a theory, but it has a foundation on solid facts and reasonable principles. Mr. George is half right, that is all wrong, in basing property right on human labor alone. Men own what they make; and this means to him the same thing with men may not own what they do not make. Men make canoes, plows and looms; therefore they may own canoes, plows and looms. Men do not make land; therefore they may not own land. What kind of logic is this? Let us try some more examples:

I love my wife and children; therefore I hate all the rest of mankind.

A tax on land is a good tax; therefore all other taxes are bad.

There is dishonesty in working the personal property tax; therefore there will be none in working the single land tax.

All teachers, preachers, statesmen, and philosophers have failed to abolish sin and wrong; therefore Henry George can do it.

These open and apparent fallacies are of a piece with Mr. George's logical jingle; arguments just as valid as his.

Ownership is a fact founded partly on individual claim, partly on social claim. Men own what they make if the laws allow. Some counterfeiters make, i.e., create, very beautiful plates for printing national banknotes, and the impressions are only distinguishable by reason of their superior elegance. The United States marshal takes possession for all that, and brings the makers to answer at the criminal bar. Property law supports private right, in the act of asserting coördinate social right. For ages the institution of property in land has made its way. Its origin marked the emergence of men out of barbarism into civilization. Savages and barbarians everywhere are communists in land. Hunting, fishing, and pastoral life

make them nomadic. Civilized men settle on the land, and live by cultivation. The state begins when settlements begin. Long experience has shown that secure tenure is essential to good cultivation. Tenants at will rob the soil and impoverish the state. Owners in fee plow deep and beautify for posterity. Land lying remote and waste is, of course, without value. Land, appropriated, enclosed, subdued, and tilled becomes by the union of private effort with society's magical potency the dearest wealth of man. The very soil becomes the depository of our earnings and savings. This is a priceless blessing to humanity. I care not what the brisk young men, who are shouting for the single tax, may think about this. I will speak for myself and I believe I speak for the great body of men who live upon what they earn. Over in a part of this city there is a little homestead. It stands for the earnings of man and boy, for the little daily self-denials and economies of the wife. It holds the savings of fifty years, a sacred deposit under the constitution of our country, and the immemorial custom of our race, for the shelter and support of a family, should death or disaster overtake its now happy owner. If that owner shall ever in any moment of folly raise his voice, or lift his hand, or cast a vote, which shall knock the value out of that little homestead, may his right hand forget her cunning, and may his tongue cleave to the roof of his mouth. I am not here to apologize for abuses of property or the imperfection of our existing ways and means of taxation. They need reform. Every serious proposition to that end deserves our hospitality. I do not therefore regret the agitation, now becoming extensive, begun by Mr. George. I have no fears that the American people will take the back track towards barbarism. The agitation will stir the air of stagnant public opinion, and lift the fog, and let the daylight in.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Works* 3:260. Boston. 1889.

But Burke was anticipated in the *Hilopadesha* by many centuries.

<sup>2</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique* 1:76. Paris. 1864.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Register* 1887 p. 323; 1889 p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. Lowell, *Essay on Democracy*.

<sup>5</sup> H. George, *Progress and Poverty* p. 384. New York. 1882.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 364.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 296.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 269-70.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 362.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 364.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 392.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 365.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 410.

SOCIALISM TRUE AND FALSE



## SOCIALISM TRUE AND FALSE

Proudhon, the French socialist, challenged the quiet citizens of his day with the audacious inquiry "What is Property?" To this question he was ready with the more audacious reply, "Property is robbery."<sup>1</sup> The socialists of the Proudhon school held that ownership is always and everywhere unjust. No man can, in their view, acquire title to anything on earth other than that got by the spectator in a theatre; the right to sit and see the show and then depart.<sup>2</sup> Property survived this attack.

Again in our day new assaults hardly less alarming are made upon property. The disciples of Karl Marx demand the abolition of private ownership in land, raw materials, and machines; i.e., all the instruments of production. The state should be sole owner of these, and so the sole capitalist. A body of American agitators led by Henry George, the Englishman, are content to deny the rightfulness of property in land; and propose by means of a scheme of "confiscation of rent" to abolish poverty, extirpate crime, and raise humanity to a lofty level of intelligence and virtue.<sup>3</sup> Such attacks may not seem so alarming as the bolder one of the French socialist, Proudhon, but they really raise the same central question; the property question. The questions "Who may own?" And "What may be owned?" can only be settled after determining why anybody may own anything

The immemorial right of private ownership is thus called in question by so many people, of such respectability, and with such emphasis and ingenuity, that we are forced to deal with it as an open question. Some phase of socialism is sure to be "up" in every social meeting, every public discussion. A number of ministers of the gospel, by no means small, and eminent for learning and devotion are preaching socialism, the socialism of Jesus and the early church as they conceive it. Some of them avow themselves converts to some form of Marxism. An aspiring political party has demanded our votes from a platform of socialistic planks, many in number, and of great social and economic import.

The series of "planks" of the platform adopted by the Omaha Convention of the Peoples' Party, July 4, 1892, included:



The free coinage of silver,  
 The abolition of national banks,  
 An elaborate sub-treasury scheme,  
 A graduated income tax,  
 Government paper money in liberal amounts,  
 Government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones,  
 Prohibition of alien land-holding,  
 Direct election of United States senators,  
 Limitations of revenues to expenses, state and national,  
 Eight hour working day,  
 Postal banks,  
 Liberal pensions to sailors and soldiers,  
 Regulation of immigration.

Nine planks were borrowed from that of the Socialist Party.

If you examine the questions thus raised you will find them, without exception, property questions. I propose, therefore, that we devote a part of the hour we are to spend together to an examination of the central question, "What *is* property and how has it come to be what it is?" Here, no smart, evasive, question-begging epigram, like Proudhon's "Property is robbery," is of any avail, as a means of reaching the truth.

Let us start with the simple proposition, which the uttermost socialist can not deny, that *Property is an institution*. Property is an *institution*. Let us be sure we know just what we mean here. There is plenty of loose talk about *institutions*; "our free, glorious, time-honored, blood-bought, consecrated institutions" and the like, with but little clear sense, I fear of what that fine word may mean. The word *institution* comes from a root *sta* common to all the languages of the Aryan or Indo-European stock, and the meaning of that root is simply *to stand*. From this root by an intensive prefix *in* and a causative affix *tu* we get the verb *to institute*, with the meaning, to cause to stand, to set up, to establish. The addition of another syllable *tion* gives us the word *institution*, which, in its intransitive sense, means simply that which has been made to stand, that which has been and remains established; with many shades of meaning according to its application; such as to a body of laws, like those of Solon or Lycurgus; to some religious ceremonial like the eucharist or baptism; or a permanent establishment for the diffusion of knowledge, like the Smithsonian Institution.

Institutions are to society what habits are to individuals, and much more, they are the very bond and cement of society.

But for institutions, men would have remained mere wandering savages, contending for life and subsistence with the tiger, the wild boar, and the wolf. To the institutions of language, the family, the church, and the state, we owe all that is meant by the word civilization. Do we? No, we must add the institution of property, and then our broad assertion may stand.

Let us not here make the mistake of supposing that institutions are necessarily good, or that they must necessarily continue to stand forever, when once made to stand. As men form bad habits, so communities set up bad institutions, and both are sometimes slow to die. Fortunately some do die; and polygamy, cannibalism, the murder of captives, slavery, absolute despotism, are institutions which have mostly disappeared. There are other institutions which we can spare, such as the saloon and the bucket shop, the "machine," and the spoils system in politics. These are hard to kill because they are institutions. Fortunately, however, institutions are not necessarily immortal.

We do not then make the blunder of assuming that institutions are to be preserved, simply because they are institutions. We grant that all institutions are to be judged of, and approved or condemned according to their fruits. The socialists bring the institution of property to bar and demand judgment. That is their privilege, but let them remember what it is they attack; an ancient and venerable institution, established before the dawn of history, spreading into all known lands and regions, adapting itself to every form and stage of society, and through all recorded time, keeping step with the advance of civilization. An institution thus ancient, universal, and adaptable, we might presume to be just and useful. But the socialists retort, war, slavery, priestcraft are also ancient and universal. Presumptions do not count. Agreed. Let us waive presumptions and go to the merits of the question, insisting at present on this only: that property as a fact, is an institution, ancient, universal, perennial. Whether we like it or not, at some time we shall be forced to the question, is there any rationale of property? Is that institution in its nature good or bad?

There will be no better time for us than this present hour. The institution of property is attacked in many quarters, but its friends and enemies are still on "praying grounds and interceding

terms." The day may possibly come when arguments will be drowned in the tumult of civil strife. The question is not an easy one, and there is much to discourage one who attacks it. The philosophers from Aristotle to Herbert Spencer have touched it, but with little vigor and unsatisfactory results; all there is to show is a half-dozen theories of property. Let me very briefly name and characterize these theories.

1. *The labor theory*: That men make things their own by putting work into them. This puts the cart before the horse. Men take possession of fruits, wood, metals, land, before putting work into them. They own, before they work.

2. *The occupancy theory*: That men own what they find or seize. But the question is, On what right are occupancy and capture founded? Here we have merely a restatement of the question.

3. *The contract theory*: That at some early time the members of society made a contract or agreement establishing individual property rights on a basis of preëxisting communism. As to this there is no record or tradition even, of any such transaction; and further, if there ever was such a compact, the generation which made it could not bind all nations forever to abide by it.

4. *The positive law theory*: That property rests solely on the authority of legislating bodies. This theory leaves the question just where it finds it. We are still looking for the reason why legislation can rightly establish property. What *ought* the law-giver to decree, not what *has* he decreed, is the question.

5. *The theory of economic necessity so-called*: That unless men can own, they will not work nor save. A glance at existing society disproves this necessity. Ownership is indeed a powerful stimulus to labor, but it is not the cause of labor. Men work to live, not to own.

6. *The natural right theory*: That man was made by the Creator to appropriate from the storehouse of nature, as a condition of life and development. I think this theory to be true, but it is, as I hope to show, but half the truth.

A single grain of wheat in many barrels of chaff, is all that remains. At best we have only a half-truth. I know it is a presumptuous thing for any man to propose anything novel in philosophy, and I hasten to say that in the following brief ex-

position I hope merely to arrange accepted doctrines in such a way as to support and correct one another. Our patent right, if it shall be accorded, covers merely the combination of the elements, heretofore left in fruitless isolation.

Here are we, a company of serious-minded people, sitting down together to reason about one of the greatest interests of mankind. This very fact, this mutual invitation, involves, postulates, logicians would say, another fact, which we, at least, can not question. In saying to one another, "Come let us reason together," we concede, each to all the others, the right to be, or if you like the statement better, each of us relinquishes all claim to deny the right of any other to live, as long at least, as the debate may continue. Any proposition to discuss property postulates, concedes the right of the parties to remain in existence. Otherwise there would be no occasion for interchange of views. You must grant that the man you are arguing with has the right to live and to continue living. Here we have a bit of solid ground under our feet, the indisputable right of men generally, of reasoning men, to live. This concession carries a great deal with it. It means a right to standing room on the earth, the right to reach out and seize for the support of the human body some amount of various solid, liquid, and gaseous substances. Man to live must have air, drink, and food. These do not commonly all exist in one place. Hence there must be a right of locomotion, for a man to go where these substances or some of them can be obtained. In the planetary economy but few kinds of food are furnished by nature in a form fit for use. They must be cultivated, gathered, threshed, shelled, skinned, refined, cooked, and served. From the fleeces of animals, the bolls of the cotton plant, from the stalks of the flax, and from many other sources, must be gathered the ultimate fibres which when spun and woven and fashioned into garments clothe our bodies. The materials for our housing must be extracted from the rocks, from beds of ore and clay, and from the forest. They must be assembled, and transformed in many ways by art and man's device. Hence the right to exert the physical powers and members in all such processes can not be denied. This means the right to labor, and the right to labor follows (not precedes) the right to appropriate.

A late French philanthropist, M. Godin, has said, "In humanity the coefficient of life is labor. Life and labor are the supreme law for man, for life and labor are one. Man has life wherein to labor; and to labor is to accomplish the law of life."<sup>4</sup> This enthusiastic statement though exaggerated it may be in expression, is, I believe, essentially true. The human powers and faculties are meant for use; and man has the right to exercise them, a mere empty right unless preceded by the right to appropriate. Further, in consequence of the fact that our earth whirls daily on an axis aslant to that of the sun, while circling yearly around that central luminary, we have the alternation of day and night, the succession of the seasons, and the establishment of great climatic zones. Clothing and shelter are accordingly "generally necessary" to human life. The vicissitudes of wind and weather impel men to lay by in store, and we call the goods so appropriated and housed up "provisions"—things foreseen. It is necessary in almost any zone to lay by in store for nights and winters, and even for periods of stormy weather. Some of the brutes do this, and it is interesting to observe here, that the institution of property finds its prototype, if not its very beginnings, in the provident economy of the ant and the bee, the squirrel, and even the lowly angle-worm. If men then, are to live, and we who have agreed to reason together, can not deny that, if men are to live, they are to take and to keep. "Property" to use a lawyer's phrase, property "runs with" life. Into the mouth of Shylock in the *Merchant of Venice*, our great dramatist puts these words:

"You take my house when you do take the prop

That doth sustain my house; you take my life

When you do take the means whereby I live."<sup>5</sup>

Here the philosophers of the natural right school stop, content to rest the right of property on the right of the individual to appropriate.

If correctly reported, Cardinal Manning in his last years, gave his adherence to this theory, but I am loth to believe that he would have conceded to any individual the right to appropriate, under all circumstances, according to his own judgment of his necessities. This would be anarchy pure and simple. Let us be careful not to stop at a half-way house and content ourselves with a half truth. Let us go back to our starting

point, a company of serious men reasoning together: and we may observe that the existence of the individual man is impossible except as a member of society. The human species exists in families, tribes, clans, states. The individual man does not exist by himself. In our little society of philosophers each member conceded to all others the right to live and incidentally to take and keep physical substances and to do all acts and functions necessary to life. There are as many rights as there are persons, and these rights are qualitatively equal. No one partner may arrogate so much subsistence as may endanger the life of his fellows. The community now appears asserting its common right to control appropriation. This right, the individual must and does concede. The extreme operation of this principle may be observed in beleaguered fortresses, storm-stayed ships, companies of emigrants, ancient and recent. For an individual in such circumstances to draw more than his allowance from the common store is a crime for which but one penalty is appropriate, because it is a kind of murder. In the execution by Lieutenant Greely<sup>6</sup> of a member of his crew for taking a few ounces of shoe leather from the store of food, we have an extreme example of the awful but probably just application of our principle.<sup>7</sup> This right of society to control individual appropriation, this is the nucleus of socialism in its good sense.

Here we have two undeniable and apparently irreconcilable truths, standing over against each other like fate and free will: The right of the individual to appropriate; the right of society to control appropriation. Like predestination and free moral agency, these two principles do stand opposed, eternally irreconcilable it may be in the forum of metaphysics, but as we hope to show, forever coalescing and resolving one another in the world of life. "I take and keep," says the individual man, "because I need to live." "You may take and keep such things and so much only," says the community, because we all need to live. "My house is my castle, let no man enter without my leave," says the citizen. "The fire is sweeping this way, we must level this house," says the fire-marshal of San Francisco; and a charge of dynamite lays the mansion with its furniture and plate, its gallery of paintings and statuary and all the bric-à-brac of two continents, in a common ruin. "This land is



mine," says a farmer, "and has been tilled by my fathers for generations." "True," say the town officers, "but a school house is needed, and yours is the best corner for the site. We must take your land, whether you like it or not. The town will pay you a fair compensation, for your improvements and interest, though it may not allow anything for wounded feelings and damaged associations." Thus these two principles, individual right and society right ever at war, like plus and minus terms in algebra, combine in a result of some actual value. And, these two principles are equally necessary; annul either, and society dissolves, and men revert to the condition of brutes or something worse. "It is the right of property," says Bentham, "which has overcome the natural aversion of man to labor, which has bestowed on men the empire of the earth, which has led nations to give up their wandering habits, which has created a love of country and of posterity."<sup>8</sup>

But to this should be added, "It is the right of society to control property, which has kept the few from engrossing the natural gifts of this earth, and from enslaving their fellow men." Slavery was but a phase of the property question.

These two principles, individual claim, and social rule, are eternally wedded. Alone, either could wreck society. And whoever, be he cardinal or anti-property apostle, undertakes to establish anything on either principle alone, will find his structure tumbling about his ears. Like man himself, property by which he lives, stands on two feet.

Now let me ask you to recur to my rather tedious discussion near the opening of this paper, upon property as an institution. I had a definite purpose in that exposition. I wished to be understood when I should come to the point where we now are, when I should come to say as I now do, that the institution of property has been developed or evolved by men in the long course of ages as they have been moved and guided by both these principles, individual right and social right.

It is important to observe that the operation of these principles is, however, diverse. The principle of individual appropriation is always at work silently but indefatigably. Each man is always getting, on the plan of Eggleston's old woman in the *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, "when you're a-gittin', git a plenty." But social regulation works spasmodically and intermittently.

While society, like the lion in the fable, slumbers, the tireless hunters weave a network of toils around her. At length she awakes with a roar and tremendous gymnastics to burst the rope yarns which were meant to enslave her. Such outbreaks are always alarming. Timid property owners see vested rights threatened and the state itself in danger. Sometimes there ought to be alarm. Vested rights in hoarded magazines of food, in human flesh and bones ought to be in danger. Is it not now easy to see that there is another socialism than that we began with, a better socialism which consists in the exercise at suitable emergencies, by proper agents, under proper forms and safeguards, of the immemorial right of society to control the institution of property? In a good sense, we are all "socialists." Any society is necessarily "socialistic."

This exercise of the right of the community is far more frequent and extensive than we commonly think. What, let me ask, is the whole body of our property law, but the definition and exercise of this right? Let us illustrate by reference to some of the laws relating to real estate.

The Constitution of Minnesota declares the dominion of the landowner to be absolute, and not that of a feudal tenant.<sup>9</sup> But ownership in land is nothing without title. The owner must be prepared to exhibit his chain of conveyances or the public record thereof, as prescribed by law. If an owner wishes to transfer his land by sale or gift, the law requires him to make and deliver a deed in proper form. If an owner die without disposing of his lands, the law prescribes to whom they shall descend. If he please to make a will, he must conform to the technical requirements of the law as to signature, witnesses, and perpetuities. The illustrations of the social regulation of property in the domain of personality are so numerous one hardly knows how to choose. In general we enjoy under our constitution, wide liberty in the ownership of chattels, and the owner has absolute dominion. But there are some forms, such for instance as dies for printing United States notes, which no private person may possess. There are others, such as gambling utensils and intoxicating liquors, which may be freely owned, perhaps, but which can be exchanged and dealt in only under stringent public regulation.



We have on our statute book a law known to lawyers as the "Statute of Frauds," which has for its principal object to determine and prescribe how contracts shall be vouched and ratified. Contracts to convey lands are absolutely void unless in writing. Sales of chattels over \$50, are also void without writings, unless consummated by immediate delivery of goods or payment of price in whole or part.

These are simple and familiar provisions, but Chancellor Kent in his *Commentaries* says of this Statute of Frauds, that "it carries its influence through the whole body of our jurisprudence and is in many respects, the most comprehensive, salutary, and important legislation on record." At every turn the law governs transactions in personal property. Whether you wish to lend or to borrow; to appoint an agent or act as one; to enter into a partnership; to buy or sell; to insure your house or life; to ship goods by rail or water; to draw a promissory note or a bill of exchange; or do almost any act or thing relating to personal property, the state as the agent of society steps in and regulates your action. If you find lost personal property, the law regards you as a trustee, and holds you responsible as such.

Penal Code of Minnesota recites, "A person who finds lost property under circumstances which give him knowledge or means of inquiry as to the true owner, and who appropriates such property to his own use, or to the use of another person who is not entitled thereto, without having first made every reasonable effort to find the owner and restore the property to him, is guilty of *larceny*."<sup>10</sup>

The law will not allow you to abandon your property and run away from it, if the stuff abandoned creates a nuisance, or causes public or private damage. Property means responsibility to society. Owners are trustees. When private property is "affected by public interests it ceases to be *privati juris*" said Lord Chief Justice Hale two hundred years ago.<sup>11</sup>

And the Roman law lays down this definition "*Dominium est jus utendi et abutendi re sua, quatenus juris ratio patitur*." "Dominion is the right of using or abusing one's own, so far as the reason of the right extends," and society decides upon that question.

Property, it is hardly going too far to say, is a *trust*, and society is its *guardian*.

Shall we not now agree that the social regulation of property

is as real, as necessary, and as much to be desired as the equally real and necessary right of the individual to acquire property? Shall we not stand by the institution of property, as the outcome of the interplay of contending individualistic and socialistic forces through many ages? As in the past, so in the future, this institution will be molded and adjusted to suit changing historic conditions. When in the past the state has unduly extended her control over property, a democratic revolution has restored the equilibrium. When individual activity has pressed too far, the law has been invoked to repress it.

We are at this moment in the very article of one of these epochs of adjustment. The last century has been one in which individualism has had a scope, perhaps unequalled in all previous history. The steam engine, the power loom, the spinning mule, the steamboat, the railway, the telegraph, the magneto-electric machine, and many minor inventions have given man a mastery over space, time, and the elements, beyond the dreams of Paracelsus or any reader of the stars. To apply these tremendous agencies on a great scale, modern governments have created artificial persons, called corporations, and conceded to them powers and franchises of untold value. During the last century, society has been calling out to men, "Go out into all lands, dig and delve, buy and sell, invent machines, gather gold and silver, seize on provinces. All, all you can find or get shall be yours and your children's forever." All this is a petulant reaction from the policy of the preceding centuries to limit and repress individual action and enterprise. We have just awakened to find ourselves in the toils woven round society during a long and unsuspecting sleep. We awake to see corporations stronger and richer than states and cities, buying up legislatures and city councils as we hire men to grub and shovel; great fortunes won by merely setting traps and weirs in the stream of social industry, to catch the earnings of other men. We have syndicates and trusts engrossing great lines of industry and commerce, and imposing arbitrary prices on consumers, destroying, without pity, any who attempt competition. We have stock and produce exchanges for gambling in securities and products, conforming so exactly to the customs of legitimate trade that courts and legislatures can not come upon them. Artisan laborers have become a proletariat, as the French express it, to be exploited

by a small body of employers who control the means of production. The self-employing master workman who has worked his way up to a situation of economic and social independence is a rare spectacle, and the arts of his class have been lost in the drudgery of machine-tending. The idea of steady accumulation by industry has almost faded out of modern life. Fortunes in our day are to be won by tricks of trade, by cornering of markets, by seizure of natural deposits, by real estate gambling, and by the promotion of salted mining schemes.

It is high time for *socialism* in the good sense of the word to assert itself. It is high time for *society* to put a check on stock and produce gambling, on mining monopoly, on timber thieving, on land grabbing, on trusts and "combines" of every sort, and to commend to the lips of the purse-proud millionaire that cup of damnation, poured out by him for the public. It is high time for society to assert her claim to some just proportion of the wealth acquired by the use of her lands, mines, forests, water powers, fisheries and rights of way which she has blindly allowed individuals and corporations to engross and monopolize.

True socialism, then, admits these evils, and demands the readjustment of the institution of property to the circumstances of the age. To effect this readjustment it plants itself on the immemorial right of society to control that institution. On this everlasting foundation it will rebuild the old fabric to suit the wants of modern men.

Already has the work of exploration and clearing begun. The Inter-State Commerce Commission, our State Railroad and Warehouse Commission, our Bureaus of Labor and Statistics are collecting data according to which plans for rebuilding may at length be drawn.

An epoch in the history of America was opened when the Conservation Congress of governors of states and others, assembled in the East room of the White House at Washington, D. C., May 13, 1908, pursuant to a call by President Roosevelt. The President opened the conference with an address, sufficient in itself to place him in the highest rank of patriots and statesmen. The discussions, which lasted three days, covered the judicious use and preservation of our mineral, water, forest, and arable resources. Incidentally the need of government control, and limitation of unrestrained and unregulated private activity was brought into view. A large volume of proceedings and papers was published. An admirable résumé of the subject may be found in the

book of Dr. Charles Richard Van Hise, president of the University of Wisconsin, entitled, *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States*. (New York, 1910)

But the false socialist—false in the sense of mistaken—(many of them are the most amiable of men) the absurd, the impracticable, the lop-sided socialists, are those who, supposing the wealth of the world to be much greater than it is, believe that everybody would be rich and happy if it were only evenly distributed; who seeing the fool rich, swelling and parading in grand array, and the poor, as they think, sinking into hopeless industrial slavery, lose their heads, and conclude that property itself, and not the abuse of property, is the cause of these evils. "The ship is unseaworthy," they cry, "let us jump overboard." And it's afloat they are, on stormy waters. The one point, the radical point, on which the wild socialists agree is the denial in whole or in part of the right of private property, and the committal of all capital to the custody of society.

The state socialists, our best example, demand the abolition of private ownership of land, raw materials, and machines. They would leave nothing to be owned by individuals, but such shares of subsistence as might finally be apportioned to them by the distributing officers of the industrial state.

With this ultimate aim in view, moderate state socialists (some of them please to call themselves Fabian socialists) come forward with proposals for approximate reforms, which may reasonably challenge attention. They point to the post office, and say "Let the state also own and manage the telegraphs and the railways." They point to the city water and gas supply and propose that the city likewise furnish fuel and ice and free street cars. They observe the supply of school books at public expense, and suggest that the children also have dinners and jackets.

Low-priced luncheons are now served to school children in many American cities.

They find the public school system itself a thoroughly socialistic establishment. "Very good," they say "let us have also free public hospitals where all the sick may be treated, and free graves and funeral rides for all." They find that in many foreign countries mines and forests are owned and worked by the government. It is time, they say, to confiscate to the public use

the deposits and wood lands to which individuals have been allowed to set up a false and utterly unjust title. They see the government operating a vast and complicated military and naval apparatus. By means of appropriate bureaus and departments the government can, they claim, likewise take charge of all the manufactures of iron and steel, wool, cotton, and silk. And I suppose this proposition is far from being impracticable.

But all these things the extreme state socialists propose on the ground that it is wrong *per se* for individuals to own any means of production. With some of these particular propositions, a good citizen may agree. He may admit that the government might wisely and profitably take charge of the telegraph and at length gradually of the railway, that a national forestry system should be established, which would actually or virtually annul private ownership over wide forest areas, that all the mines and deposits in the country should be made the property of the state and worked under public oversight or management. All these and more he might advocate but not, not for the reasons of the state socialists, that property is robbery, and ownership a sin, but on the solid ground of public right to control private property for public good.

Postmaster-General Hitchcock in his annual report for 1911 has proposed the acquisition and subsequent operation of all the telegraph and telephone lines in the country; and the proposition is received by the public without alarm and in some quarters it is heartily welcomed. There is the same argument for government ownership operation of these agencies of communication as for those of the postal establishment.

The state is already armed with all the constitutional authority necessary to such reforms in the control of property as wise and reasonable men may desire. What is needed is wise application of old principles to new circumstances, not destructive revolution; not to scuttle the old ship because there are mutineers and thieves aboard. We are all socialists in a good sense, and can not help being such, and I wish that good socialism may increase and grow in us; the socialism of the golden rule and the common law. We may all accept, especially those of us who profess and call ourselves Christians, may gladly adopt, the motto of the Knights of Labor, "An injury to one is the concern of all." More than ever before in history, are men members one of another. The minute division of labor has made class more dependent on class than ever.

All great industry has become essentially coöperative. Employers and employees are partners, willing or unwilling, in every business.

Being then socialists, because we are human, let us recognize and practice the good there is in socialism. Let us stand for our social right to control the institution of property for the good of each and all. But while doing this we are not to forget nor ignore the equally fundamental right of each one of us as individuals to draw from the storehouse of nature and to take and to keep what is necessary to life and its purposes.

But we must not forget that the social right is subordinate and ancillary to the individual right, because society having served its purpose of forming the environment in which the individual may exist and develop, will at length disappear. A great philosopher has said, "Human societies are born, live, and die upon the earth, there they accomplish their destiny. But they contain not the whole man, . . . We, individuals, each with a separate and distinct existence, with an identical person, beings endowed with immortality, we have a higher destiny than states."<sup>12</sup>

Society, and the state, belong to this world, and shall perish with it. The man belongs to the universe, and can not be destroyed. Whoever holds to any such noble and true view of the human soul and its destiny, can be in no danger of putting in jeopardy that institution of property which guarantees the existence and development of the individual, which offers a field and a motive for the employment of the human powers, which gives to the individual the ability and the means to serve his fellowmen. Property is the mother of frugality, of industry, of independence. And these are the basis of social virtue. Property inculcates respect for rights, for equal rights, and is the core of true socialism. Mine is mine because yours is yours and all is ours. The right of each is the guaranty of all. This is the essence of true democracy, and the ultimate guaranty of liberty. Men will continue to mold and modify the institution of property but they can never abolish it. It "runs with" life itself. As in the old time before us, so to the end of the world the decalogue will both teach and sanction its eternal justice. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house . . . nor anything which is thy neighbor's." Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal: life and property run together.



## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> P. J. Proudhon, *Works*. English translation 1:12. Princeton, Mass. 1870.
- <sup>2</sup> Cicero, *De Finibus* bk. 3, ch. 20.
- <sup>3</sup> See foregoing address.
- <sup>4</sup> Godin, *Social Solutions* p. 139. New York. 1886.
- <sup>5</sup> *Merchant of Venice* act 4, scene 2.
- <sup>6</sup> Afterwards General Greely.
- <sup>7</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the United States Expedition to Lady Franklin Bay* 1:363.
- <sup>8</sup> Jeremy Bentham, *Works* 1:309. Edinburgh. 1869.  
But Bentham draws from Beccaria, the Italian philosopher.
- <sup>9</sup> Article 1, sec. 15.
- <sup>10</sup> *Penal Code of Minnesota*, 1885 sec. 425.
- <sup>11</sup> See ante. Page 41.
- <sup>12</sup> Guizot, *History of Civilization in Europe* New York. 1891. (citing De Royer Collard).

THE NEW ECONOMICS





## THE NEW ECONOMICS

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association was held at Chatauqua, New York, August 23 to 26, 1892. The president for the year was Professor Charles F. Dunbar of Harvard University. Ill-health and absence prevented him from performing the duties which devolved on the author, one of the vice-presidents. For the opening address, here in part reprinted, he chose a subject in which he was at the time much interested.<sup>1</sup> Readers will observe that although in the course of the quarter-century which has elapsed his expectations have been in some degree realized, problems of first importance in such lines as taxation, transportation, forest and mining policies, public finances, etc. await solution.

It is a common remark that the young man emerging from college needs first of all to throw his books on political economy to the dogs, before he can judge and act with practical sense upon the economic problems which at once present themselves to him as a citizen. "Theory, mere theory, and idle speculation," is the popular estimation of our science, as we fondly call it.

How extreme and unjust this view is we all know, but we must, I think, still admit that there is some color for it. If political economists are brushed aside as visionary and unpractical speculators, there must be a show of reason or excuse for it. Such excuse is not far to seek, for men of three score, who, in the mid-century days, were studying the political economy taught in American schools as a branch of, or attachment to, the department of philosophy. We stood up in our places and recited the text to respectable ecclesiastical professors, who "held the book and looked after." The system made a fair show in the flesh. Its doctrines were marshaled in imposing hierarchical fashion, and followed on in a sequence of parts, books, chapters, sections, and paragraphs. For examination purposes the subject was almost as convenient as geometry, or the syntax of the Greek moods. The most deep and general impression left on the mind of those students was that there were certain "laws of trade," analogous to the laws of physics, which governed things economic with invariable and omnipotent sway. These laws, if they were embodied and could speak, might say of themselves: "Men may come, and men may go; but we go on forever."

I am far from believing or saying that there was not a central core of truth in that teaching—but the mischief lay in the tacit assumption that these “laws of trade” operated on men like the laws of gravity, from without. The economic atom was afloat in the stream, and could move only in the direction of the current. It was an obvious corollary that the results of these “laws” might easily be foreseen and foretold. Above all, it was left to be understood, when not dogmatically inculcated, that the economic atoms must be careful not to rebel against the omnipotence of the laws of trade. No molecular combinations or arrangements could be of any use. *Laissez faire, laissez aller*, the protest of the French merchants against excessive government steering, became the last word in an economic philosophy, or rather the negation of a philosophy.

*Laissez faire* had gone to seed, and its fruit was ashes. The political economy which began with Adam Smith to consider of the “wealth of nations” had degenerated into speculations upon the probable conduct of hypothetical economic atoms, under the operation of forces beyond their control.

“The war notifies us that *laissez faire* is dead. The nation that killed it now threatens to build world empire on the others that did not know it.”<sup>2</sup>

I do not need to inform this audience that upon this darkness a day star has already risen, and that a new political economy has been born, of which we may cherish moderate, but well-grounded hopes.

The new political economy is not a branch of moral philosophy; it is a branch and constituent of sociology—the science of the social man. The location of political economy in the province of sociology involves consequences of the greatest moment.

At the first glance the object of economic investigation is seen to be the actual behavior of human society as it passes before us, posted at the economic standpoint, in historical review; not the possible behavior of abstract economic atoms acting under supposed conditions, which may never have existed.

There is no longer any concern about “the economic man,” there being no economic man separated from the living human creature as he stands in actual relations to the social and political groups in which he exists and to the natural world about him.

The springs and motions of economic activity lie, then, in the whole complex life of a people. Subject to the conditions of nature, men do and get what they desire to do and get. The primary question in economics is, What are the needs, wants, and desires of a people? In the new economy that has begun to be, the topic of consumption, by Mill entirely shut out of the science, and by most unduly subordinated, will have the leading chapters.

"Consumption," said Jevons, prophetically, "is the dynamics of political economy." To write political economy without founding it on a discussion of the needs, wants, and desires of men, is like "making watches without mainsprings," to borrow a figure which Lowell applied to socialism.

The assignment of economics to the domain of social science has a decisive effect on the choice of method.

It will be admitted here that the deductive method was overworked by those early economists who regarded and taught their science as a branch of moral philosophy, and it is no slander to say that most of their successors have followed their example. The political economy which undertakes to account for any part of the activities of human society can not begin with postulates nor continue by deduction. It must begin with observation and record. Hypothesis must succeed hypothesis until generalizations are reached which satisfy the understanding.<sup>3</sup>

The social sciences can flourish and develop only on a soil prepared by the statistician. Sir William Petty and Arthur Young understood and appreciated the importance of "political arithmetic" as clearly as any of their successors, but only meagre collections were possible in their times. So long as observations were of men and things in the lump and on the wing, generalizations were, and had to be, casual and uncertain.

A modern free state must, of course, and from the first, establish and put into operation its revenue, administrative and police functions. The very next thing, in my judgment, should be the organization of its statistical establishment. The people should demand the opening of a great people's intelligence office, to collect and diffuse the results of their economic history as it is made from day to day, for the advantage of all. There ought to be no delay on the part of Congress in merging existing

elements into a national department of statistics, and placing at the head of it the one man, whose name is already on your lips, and whose life will, I trust, be spared to train more than one disciple fitted to carry on the work which he has pioneered.<sup>4</sup>

I turn now to another consequence of the assignment of economics to the domain of sociology, which is cardinal. The discussion I desire to offer will be in some degree corrective of statements already made, whose immediate effect I hesitated to weaken by limitation and concession.

In a brief paper which was accorded a reading at a previous meeting of this Association, the suggestion was made that the relations of human society fall into three natural subdivisions, the social, the industrial, and the jural or political. This triple analysis seems to be exhaustive, and each category logically exclusive of the other two. Still, it needs ever to be borne in mind that in the world of fact these relations blend, and interlace, and interfuse interminably.<sup>5</sup>

The economist, donning the philosopher's magic spectacles, seeks to isolate from the maze the industrial relations. The wonderful glasses do enable him to do this, but only to show them on a background of the other relations; and this background, if I may be permitted to work the optical figure with some freedom, is double, according as the industrial group is tinted on the one hand by the social, on the other by the jural or political. The field of view exhibits, therefore, two limbs or hemispheres—the socio-economic and the politico-economic.

This dichotomy seems to me to be fundamental in political economy.

The history of economic doctrine shows these two hemispheres to have been recognized, but alternatively or successively, not as co-existing and uniting on a median line to form a complete body.

My contention is for the recognition and development of a science of public economy.

It is time to suffer our eyes, so long color-blinded, to behold the politico-economic hemisphere, which has all the while lain before them, but unseen. It is this one-sided development of economics which has placed its devotees at a disadvantage, and so often rendered them unwise for counsel and helpless for action, in public affairs.

Since the close of the formative era of our national life, say with Monroe's administration, all the great national issues have been economic. Such were the tariff, the slavery question, at bottom, and the various monetary questions that have arisen, culminating in the "silver question" of to-day.

Such issues multiply upon us. The platform of a reform party lately contained more than twenty planks, all but two or three economic planks. The issues of the pending campaign are purely economic in their nature, and it is indeed pitiable that our science is in such a state and in such repute that it can contribute but slightly to the decision.<sup>6</sup>

The claim which the country has upon her economists may be sufficiently illustrated by two special and one general consideration, to which I will but briefly refer. The first is that of land. The public land policy of the nation has had for its central idea that of getting the arable lands of the country into the possession of small holders, themselves the cultivators. To this policy is due, without doubt, in great part, the wealth, intelligence, and happiness of our rural people. But there is a cloud hardly as big as a man's hand now rising on this peaceful horizon—the beginning of a process which tends to supplant the traditional American small holding by the bonanza farm, owned by a corporation, and worked by hirelings. The "promoter" is already showing his skillful hand in the exploitation of capital and labor upon land. The danger referred to is all the more threatening in view of the revolution which electricity is likely to work in agriculture.

The bonanza farms then in mind, of hundreds or thousands of acres, often including alternate sections of railroad lands, have turned out to be ephemeral, because of the rapid exhaustion of the soil by continuous single cropping. But large farming by means of machines still looms as a danger. It is much to be hoped that the cheap but effective tractors propelled by interior-combustion engines, not thought of twenty-five years ago, may enable the small farmer to survive. When our rural population becomes more homogeneous, and less migratory, coöperation may render small farming the more profitable, and J. S. Rankin's dreams may come true.

Our public land policy has made but slight account of lands not arable. The vast mineral deposits of the country—vast beyond imagination—were simply left to be the prey of the adventurous and lucky prospector. That simple plan served

well enough when it applied to the inconsiderable deposits of the Atlantic sea-board, before stone coal had been utilized for fuel. It is not working so equitably in these days when a few millionaires, under protection of laws adapted to a state which knew not millionaires, nor corporations, nor promoters, are permitted to seize, and without rendering any substantial equivalent, to engross the untold wealth stored up in the primitive formations which environ Lake Superior and form the mountain masses of the great West of to-day.

There was a railway belonging to Wright and Davis, Michigan lumber men . . . they owned somewhere in the neighborhood of 25,000 acres, that were particularly well situated on the range . . . We bought the whole outfit [for \$4,050,000] . . . It became my property . . . About a year after I turned them over to the Lake Superior Company . . . for the benefit of the stockholders of the Great Northern Railway Company . . . I was paid back the money that I had paid for these properties with 5 per cent interest. All the available ore on the American continent that I know of, . . . is owned by people . . . I think . . . the explorations [of the Wright and Davis purchase with some additional acquisitions] have shown something over 400,000,000 tons . . . There are 1,300,000,000 according to the tax commissioner's report . . . I should say 300,000,000 were held by outside owners; 400,000,000 by us; and [the remainder by] The United States Steel Corporation.<sup>7</sup>

The "laws of trade" are a stale and exasperating joke to the millions of people, using the anthracite coal of the Alleghanies, when they know that the price of such fuel is or may be fixed for them by a clique of a half dozen "magnates."

The same kind of thing is going on with our remaining forest lands. Under the operation of laws intended to protect and foster actual settlement and the establishment of homes and home industries, the lumbering corporations are acquiring title to vast provinces of timber lands, and have already formed the combinations which enable them to dictate prices to consumers.

"The remaining supply of standing timber in continental United States (excluding Alaska) is now about 2,800,000,000,000 board feet of which 2,200,000,000,000 board feet is privately owned. . . . Three holdings (The Southern Pacific Company, The Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, and the Northern Pacific Railway Company) include no less than 11 per cent of the privately owned timber of the entire country. . . . The eight largest holdings together own approximately 15.4 per cent of the total privately owned timber in the country . . . three hundred and eighty-five holders control 55.6 per cent."<sup>8</sup>



A further instance of the operation of the land policy, adapted to out-grown conditions, is found in the arid lands of the great West. These lands are not infertile; they only need the water now running to waste down the mountain ravines and canyons to produce with an abundance and a regularity marvellous in the eyes of the eastern farmer, whose rainfall may fail him when failure is ruin, or drown out his crops with ill-timed generosity. The law of supply and demand does not offer any promising solution of the problem of impounding and distributing these life and wealth-giving waters. A statute of the state of Montana, granting title to the man who first dams up and leads away for irrigating purposes the waters of a stream, has already begotten a wilderness of law suits, to the great comfort of Montana attorneys, but also to the sorrow and cost of Montana farmers.\*

I can barely mention here, as an item of kindred interest, the engrossing of vast ranges of pasture lands in the western mountain regions by "combines" of ranchmen, who buy up slight fringes of lands along the water courses.

Need more be said to show that a new and juster public policy of land must be devised and established?

Next to the land policy (and perhaps next above, rather than next below) stands the labor policy of the nation. *Laissez faire* was good enough and simple enough forty years ago, when "labor" meant the single hired man of the small farmer, or the little group of journeymen and apprentices, who wrought side by side with their master in the little shop of a small manufacturer; and when "capital" meant the savings and pinchings of years of toil and self-denial.

The arrival of large production, and the massing of vast capitals by exploitation, and the enormous increase of the labor force of the country from foreign sources, has changed that idyllic state of things.

In the changed condition of our industrial state, the relation of the individual workman to the great employing corporation—I venture to suggest—is not simply that of contract terminable at the caprice of either party. The conditions of free contracting fail; freedom of movement, wide and active competition for labor between employers, the possession of a complete art or trade by the artisan. This is a hard proposition to demonstrate, but its substantial truth is felt deep in the hearts of thousands



of toilers and earnest friends of "labor," viewing the disadvantageous situation of the modern artisan in large establishments, endeavor to characterize it by the striking but extravagant term "wage-slavery." For protection and mutual aid labor long since resorted to its ancient device of combination, and the trades union came to stay as long as large production and large capitals shall last. No one who understands the history of economic movements can deny the great service wrought by labor organization. But for it "wage-slavery" would have become a fact, as it is now only a tendency. Nor will it, on the other hand, be denied that this service has been rendered at the cost of enormous sacrifices and suffering among the laboring people, and great inconvenience and damage to general society.

Shall we not make every effort which ingenuity may suggest to work out a public policy of industry, which shall establish justice between the working man and his employer, and also ensure to society domestic tranquillity? In some of our states, laws have been passed to regulate the party caucuses, thus bringing party politics under the operation of the law.<sup>10</sup> On the same principle may not the law interpose to regulate trades unions and to restrain them within proper limits? There is no more care in the stoppage of traffic on railway systems, because of disagreements as to working hours and wages than there would be in leaving steamers to drift in mid-ocean, because the crews did not like the flavor of their dunderfunk.

"Ninety-four per cent of the 400,000 railroad workers voted for a strike if the carriers should fail to grant their demands. . . . The president appealed to the brotherhood heads to have the strike order for Labor day rescinded, but was told that the order was beyond recall. The impending strike was averted September 2 by the passage of the Adamson eight-hour bill. . . . The Adamson eight-hour bill passed the House September 1, 1916 by a vote of 239 to 56, and the Senate by a vote of 43 to 28. . . . In both houses the measure was signed within a few minutes after the final vote in the Senate, and it was at once sent to the White House where President Wilson signed it at 7:30 o'clock Sunday morning . . . Three hours after the measure passed the Senate the heads of the four great railroad brotherhoods cancelled the strike orders which were to have taken effect on September 4, 1916."<sup>11</sup>

Trades unions will at length come under the law and will be all the more beneficent for so doing. The suggestion, which is heard of late, that in some lines at least, membership be made obligatory, seems worthy of serious consideration. In working

out a public policy of labor, the beginning might properly be made with some of those industries which have been engrossed by capitalistic combines, or are natural monopolies. Whenever a combination seizes upon such an industry, acquiring the natural deposits of material, the only right of way, and the whole plant of the business, rendering competition impossible, it has by those very acts ceased to be a private concern. It has made itself agent and trustee of the public, and subjected itself to public visitation and control. This is good common law.

There is a large body of most earnest souls who despair of the economic amelioration of humanity on its present line of advance. Freedom of contract has, they say, found its logical outcome in the corporation and trust, which annul competition. Individualism in things economic has wrought the devil's own ruin, and must give way—give way to socialism, by which they mean the collectivistic state, which state is to be sole proprietor, sole capitalist, sole employer.

Could such a state be organized and operated it would establish a most galling, suffocating, deadening slavery. But it will never exist, except in the romances of amiable enthusiasts.<sup>12</sup>

For all that, there is good in socialism, when tempered and moderated by due admixture with individualism. The socialistic principle is capable of far wider application and development than has yet been made, and will in the future be given a development in institutions which, could we foresee it, would surprise, perhaps alarm, us all. The modern division of labor makes classes and individuals more dependent on one another than ever before. The problem for the economist of the future is that of so conserving public interests as not to paralyze private energy; to gain for society all the advantages of brotherhood without sapping and withering manhood. Brotherhood on the basis of manhood, the burden of Burns' glorious song, is both the guiding principle and the final—but we must fear very distant—goal of human progress.

“Then let us pray, that come it may  
As come it will for a' that;  
That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth,  
May bear the gree, and a' that,  
For a' that, and a' that  
It's comin' yet for a' that.  
When man to man the world o'er  
Shall brothers be for a' that.”

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> American Economic Association *Publications* 8:19-40.

<sup>2</sup> *American Economic Review* 8:15. Presidential address of Professor John R. Commons at the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association, 1917.

<sup>3</sup> See W. S. Jevons, *Principles of Political Economy*, London, 1911, pp. 16-22 and *Theory of Political Economy*, London, 1911, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Carroll D. Wright, for many years United States Commissioner of Agriculture and charter member of the American Economic Association.

<sup>5</sup> American Economic Association, *Publications* 4:383.

	Fields	Sciences	
SOCIOLOGY	Ethical, . .	"Social Science"	
	Industrial, . .	ECONOMICS.....	{PRIVATE PUBLIC
	Jural, . .	Politics	

<sup>6</sup> Platform of the People's Party adopted at the convention held in Omaha, Nebraska, July 4, 1892. See any large city daily of the time.

<sup>7</sup> Hearings before the Committee of Investigation of United States Steel Corporation, House of Representatives, 1912. Testimony of James J. Hill, 4:3155, 3160, 3162, 3168-9, 3106, 3206, 3236. The facts illustrate the colossal stupidity of our national mining policy, as well as Mr. Hill's magnanimity. On page 3194 the holdings of the Steel Corporation were placed by Mr. Hill's attorney at 700,000,000 of tons.

<sup>8</sup> Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Corporations, Part I. *The Timber Industry*, 1913, 1:12-13. See Chapter VI, Public Land Policy a Primary Cause of Consolidation of Timber Ownership, 215-271.

<sup>9</sup> See John R. Commons' address as cited *ante*, page 14, for unanticipated evils growing out of the Government Reclamation Policy.

<sup>10</sup> See *The General Statutes of Minnesota*, 1913, sections 335 and following for the existing law providing for "Nominations by Direct Vote." It was first enacted in 1905 and has been repeatedly amended. Although it has been severely criticized no legislature has yet ventured to reinstall the "machine" which it was intended to abolish.

<sup>11</sup> *Information Annual*, 1916, p. 481.

<sup>12</sup> Herbert Spencer, *Coming Slavery*.

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Current Problems

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THE RELATION BETWEEN DEPENDENCY AND RETARDATION:  
A STUDY OF 1,351 PUBLIC SCHOOL CHILDREN KNOWN  
TO THE MINNEAPOLIS ASSOCIATED CHARITIES

BY

MARGARET KENT BEARD, B.A.



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## PREFACE

It is the purpose of this preface to acknowledge the service rendered by various individuals, and to express my understanding of the scope of the following study.

It is fitting that acknowledgment be made first to Mr. Frank J. Bruno, General Secretary of the Minneapolis Associated Charities, who conceived the idea that such a survey be undertaken. To him, and, in as full measure, to Dr. Arthur J. Todd, Professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota, I am indebted for encouragement and counsel in the development of the work.

The Department of School Attendance, under the directorship of Mr. David H. Holbrook, was of great service in the collection of data. This department not only made accessible files and registers, and lent its name to printed circulars of inquiry, but also showed a very ready appreciation of the function of such work. Sincere thanks are due Superintendent B. B. Jackson whose letter of introduction acted as an "open sesame" to the schools. The principals of the four schools—Miss Kate Allen of the Holland, Mr. Ernest J. Hardaker of the Logan, Miss Irene Joslin of the Lyndale, and Miss Maria A. Lynch of the Washington—gave many minutes of their valuable time, enabling me to make the respective statistics more accurate.

Our schools are mines of material which by the researcher's perseverance and skill must be fused into a useful product. Individual experience isolated may mean little; individual experience, amassed, arranged, interpreted, becomes history upon which the future may be builded. It is indeed a source of gratification when the officials of our schools appreciate this.

I am grateful to Miss Jean E. Hirsch of the Medical Art Shop at the University of Minnesota for giving her time and skill to the execution of the figures.

The aim of the study has been to establish a definite relationship between dependency and retardation. It is hoped that in the future some one may make this complete and more valuable, first by determining how many dependent children there are in the Minneapolis Public Schools, and secondly by discovering those causes coëxistent with dependency which are retarding the child. This work is, therefore, but the first of three steps. Moreover, it is an attempt in a field, at present, almost unentered by the research worker, and for that reason does not pretend to be other than a simple statement of facts.

MARGARET KENT BEARD

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# THE RELATION BETWEEN DEPENDENCY AND RETARDATION

## STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Are the financial dependence of a family and the intellectual retardation of the children coexistent? Does the fact that the family can not independently maintain the normal standard of living mean that most likely the child can not maintain the normal standard of intellectual life as measured by school grades? This is the problem involved in seeking for the relation between dependency and retardation. The results of a study made in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1917, are here given as an answer to the question.

## THE NORM ESTABLISHED

Before discovering whether dependent families furnished a disproportionate share of retarders it was necessary to establish a "norm" or authoritative standard for measuring retardation. This was accomplished by determining the amount of retardation in a typical group of school children.

Four schools in Minneapolis were selected—the Washington, the Lyndale, the Holland, and the Logan. These schools may be roughly characterized as follows. The Washington School represented the most problematic district. Originally a pioneer residence district, it had degenerated into a rooming-house section of the city. There was the problem of extreme poverty, of immorality, of congested living conditions, and of an alien population. There were but six grades in the Washington. The Lyndale School in contrast represented a prosperous residence section of the city which was inhabited by people of sturdy American stock. Most of the homes were owned by their residents, who were salaried men. There were still many open lots and plenty of play room. The Holland district presented the problem of a large foreign, non-English-speaking population, mostly Slavic. Many of the children attended parochial schools for several years. The Logan district was a combination of the best residence district of North Minneapolis and the worst. Like the Lyndale it represented mainly a home-owning population. Unlike the Lyndale the population, largely German and Scandinavian, was of the



successful wage earning class rather than of the salaried class.<sup>1</sup> Such was the typical group chosen as the basis for determining retardation in the normal group.

The study was based on the enrollment at a given date falling between February 19, 1917 and March 14, 1917, when each school was surveyed. The ages were for February 1, 1917—the beginning of the semester. The years of a child's age were counted only when they were completed; e.g. a child was not called 14 unless he was fully 14 on February 1. "Normal age" was called 6 to 8 years for the first grade, 7 to 9 years for the second grade, etc.<sup>2</sup> "Retarded pupils" were those over normal age; "advanced pupils" were those under normal age. So that the school district might be especially typical, all children in "special rooms" for the defective or delinquent coming from the four districts were included in their own district.

The sources of information were the teachers' registers for three schools. In these, September ages were given, to which five months were added to bring February ages. Some registers were much confused, and it was discovered that while some teachers determined ages by reference to birth dates on school nativity cards, others did so by asking the pupil. In the Logan, an age and grade report for February 1, prepared by the principal, was used. For pupils in special rooms, birth-record cards were used for ages, and as most of the special classes were ungraded, approximate grades were given.

The four schools had an enrollment of 2,828 pupils; 504 pupils were found to be retarded, or 17.8 per cent (see Figure 1).

332 pupils or 11.74 per cent of the whole	were retarded 1 year
118 pupils or 4.17 per cent of the whole	were retarded 2 years
35 pupils or 1.23 per cent of the whole	were retarded 3 years
9 pupils or .32 per cent of the whole	were retarded 4 years
6 pupils or .21 per cent of the whole	were retarded 5 years
3 pupils or .1 per cent of the whole	were retarded 6 years
1 pupil or .03 per cent of the whole	were retarded 7 years

These 504 pupils represented 764 years of retardation.

<sup>1</sup> This description was received from Miss Anne Ferguson, Public School Attendance Department.

<sup>2</sup> Normal age is so designated by Mr. Leonard Ayres in *Laggards in Our Schools*. It also follows that such would be normal when school entrance age is 6 to 7 years.

Grade	Age of Pupils																Total of pupils per grade	Advanced	Retarded
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17					
1B		21	131	31	6	2	2										193	21	10
1A			124	60	19	4	2	1									210	0	26
2B			7	91	46	7	1	4									156	7	12
2A			1	84	58	18	4		2	1							168	1	25
3B				22	93	43	14	7	1					1			181	22	23
3A				5	89	65	15	5	2	1	2	3					187	5	28
4B				2	31	88	34	16	5	1	1						178	33	23
4A					4	65	68	36	11	3	1	2					190	4	53
5B						20	76	48	23	7	5	2					181	20	37
5A						6	72	66	25	12	2	1	1				185	6	41
6B						2	29	70	42	25	3	2					173	31	30
6A							7	81	66	28	21	7					210	7	56
7B							1	24	61	42	22	8					158	25	30
7A							1	18	55	55	37	13	3				182	19	53
8B								1	18	47	29	17	5				117	19	22
8A									1	7	66	50	24	10	1		159	8	35
Totals:	0	21	263	295	346	320	326	378	318	288	173	79	20	1	2828	228	504		

Total number of pupils . . . . . 2828  
 Total number of pupils advanced . . . . . 228  
 Total number of pupils retarded . . . . . 504

FIGURE 1. Holland, Logan, Lyndale, and Washington Schools

The four schools individually presented the following results. In the Holland (see Figure 2) out of an enrollment of 694 pupils, 140 pupils or 20.1 per cent were retarded.

96 pupils or 13.8 per cent of the whole were retarded 1 year  
 31 pupils or 4.5 per cent of the whole were retarded 2 years  
 10 pupils or 1.4 per cent of the whole were retarded 3 years  
 2 pupils or .3 per cent of the whole were retarded 5 years  
 1 pupil or .1 per cent of the whole was retarded 6 years

The 140 pupils were retarded 204 years.

In the Logan (see Figure 3) out of an enrollment of 751, 117 pupils or 15.5 per cent were retarded.

80 pupils or 10.7 per cent of the whole were retarded 1 year  
 26 pupils or 3.5 per cent of the whole were retarded 2 years  
 9 pupils or 1.2 per cent of the whole were retarded 3 years  
 1 pupil or .1 per cent of the whole was retarded 4 years  
 1 pupil or .1 per cent of the whole was retarded 5 years

The 117 pupils were retarded 168 years.

Grade	Age of Pupils														Total of pupils per grade	Advanced	Retarded
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17			
1B		2	28	7	3	1									41	2	4
2B			23	18	4	1									46	0	5
3B				24	10			4							39	1	4
4B				13	22	4	1								41	1	5
5B					17	12	4	3							37	1	7
6B					2	13	24	3			1	1			44	2	5
7B						3	21	8	5	1					38	3	6
8B							2	23	12	5	1	1		1	45	2	8
9B								3	14	10	7	1	2		37	3	10
10B									2	13	16	8	2		41	2	10
11B										5	16	10	6	2	40	5	9
12B											16	11	7	6	41	0	14
13B												2	20	17	52	2	13
14B													1	8	24	9	22
15B														5	11	8	6
16B															14	17	11
Totals	0	2	51	55	74	91	61	85	87	83	59	32	2	0	694	38	140

Total number of pupils ..... 694  
 Total number of pupils advanced... 38  
 Total number of pupils retarded... 140

FIGURE 2. Holland School

In the Lyndale (see Figure 4) out of an enrollment of 919 pupils, 120 pupils or 13 per cent were retarded.

76 pupils or 8.3 per cent of the whole were retarded 1 year  
 33 pupils or 3.5 per cent of the whole were retarded 2 years  
 7 pupils or .8 per cent of the whole were retarded 3 years  
 1 pupil or .1 per cent of the whole was retarded 4 years  
 1 pupil or .1 per cent of the whole was retarded 5 years  
 1 pupil or .1 per cent of the whole was retarded 6 years  
 1 pupil or .1 per cent of the whole was retarded 7 years

Grade	Age of Pupils																	Total all pupils per grade	Average age	Index 4-4
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17						
1B		11	50	11	3	1											76	1	4	
1A			23	15	4												42	0	4	
2B			2	22	9	1	1										35	2		
2A				28	10	3	1										42	0	4	
3B				7	25	4	2	2	1								41	7		
3A				1	31	8	2										42	1		
4B					6	25	6	5	2								44	6		
4A						11	20	11	3								45	0	14	
5B						6	18	8	6	3	2						44	6		
5A						1	20	14	4	1	1		1				42	1	7	
6B						1	11	19	7	4							42	12		
6A							2	24	27	10	4	4					71	2	18	
7B								8	16	10	5						39	8		
7A								3	15	14	7						41	3		
8B									2	15	10	6					33	2		
8A										5	34	19	7	7			72	5	14	
Totals:	0	11	75	84	88	61	83	94	88	91	48	19	9	0	0	0	751	66	7	

Total number of pupils..... 751  
 Total number of pupils advanced..... 66  
 Total number of pupils retarded..... 117

FIGURE 3. Logan School

The 120 pupils represented 185 years of retardation.

In the Washington (see Figure 5) out of an enrollment of 464 pupils, 127 pupils or 27.3 per cent were retarded.

80 pupils or 17.2 per cent of the whole were retarded 1 year  
 28 pupils or 6.0 per cent of the whole were retarded 2 years  
 9 pupils or 2.0 per cent of the whole were retarded 3 years  
 7 pupils or 1.5 per cent of the whole were retarded 4 years  
 2 pupils or .4 per cent of the whole were retarded 5 years  
 1 pupil or .2 per cent of the whole was retarded 6 years

The 127 pupils represented 207 years of retardation.

The four schools with their enrollment of 2,828 showed 228 pupils or 8 per cent advanced—that is under normal age (see Figure 1).

220 pupils or 7.8 per cent of the whole were advanced 1 year  
8 pupils or .2 per cent of the whole were advanced 2 years

The total number of years advanced by the 228 pupils was 236 years.

Grade	Age of Pupils															Total of pupils per grade	Advanced	Retarded		
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17						
1B		5	32	5												42	5	0		
1A			45	15	3											63	0	3		
2B			3	34	9	3										49	3	3		
2A				29	11	4	1									45	0	5		
3B				9	32	16	1	1						1		60	9	3		
3A					38	21	4	2	2		1	1				69	0	10		
4B					16	35	6	4	2	1						64	16	7		
4A					2	31	21	7	1							62	2	8		
5B						8	31	18	2	1						60	8	3		
5A						3	29	22	6	4	1	1				66	3	12		
6B						1	12	24	16	4						57	13	4		
6A							3	26	17	3	5	1				55	3	9		
7B								1	14	25	15	9	3			67	15	12		
7A									7	16	17	15	6	1		62	7	22		
8B										1	11	21	11	5	5	54	12	10		
8A											1	2	18	14	6	2	1	44	3	9
Totals:	0	5	80	92	111	122	109	127	100	84	56	23	9	1	919	99	120			

Total number of pupils ..... 919  
Total number of pupils advanced... 99  
Total number of pupils retarded... 120

FIGURE 4. Lyndale School

The report for the individual schools was as follows. From the Holland's enrollment (Figure 2) of 694, 38 pupils or 5.4 per cent were advanced.

37 pupils or 5.3 per cent of the whole were advanced 1 year  
1 pupil or .1 per cent of the whole was advanced 2 years

The total number of years advanced was 39.

From the enrollment of 751 pupils in the Logan (Figure 3) 66 pupils or 8.7 per cent were advanced.

Grade	Age of Pupils																Total of Pupils per Grade	Advanced	Retarded
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17					
1B		3	21	8			2										34	3	2
1A			33	12	8	3	2	1									59	0	14
2B			1	11	18	3											33	1	3
2A				14	15	7	1		2	1							40	0	11
3B				5	19	11	7	1									43	5	8
3A				2	7	12	6	3		1		1					32	2	11
4B				2	6	7	14	2				1					32	8	3
4A							15	13	6	2	1	1					38	0	23
5B						3	13	12	8	2	1	1					40	3	12
5A							10	14	7	5							36	0	12
6B							1	11	9	11	1	1					34	1	13
6A							2	15	11	8	6	1					43	2	15
7B																			
7A																			
8B																			
8A																			
Totals	0	3	55	54	73	46	73	72	43	30	10	5	0	0	464	25	127		

Total number of pupils . . . 464

Total number of pupils advanced . . . 25

Total number of pupils retarded . . . 127

F. Washington School

65 pupils or 8.6 per cent of the whole were advanced 1 year

1 pupil or .1 per cent of the whole was advanced 2 years

These represent 67 years of advancement.

From the enrollment of 919 pupils in the Lyndale (Figure 4) 99 pupils or 10.7 per cent were advanced.

95 pupils or 10.3 per cent of the whole were advanced 1 year

4 pupils or .4 per cent of the whole were advanced 2 years

The 99 were advanced 103 years.

From the enrollment in the Washington (Figure 5) of 464 pupils, 25 pupils or 5.3 per cent were advanced.

23 pupils or 4.9 per cent of the whole were advanced 1 year

2 pupils or .4 per cent of the whole were advanced 2 years

These represent 27 years of advancement.

Normal age, as has been said, was called 6 to 8 years for the first grade, 7 to 9 years for the second grade, etc. Was the actual average different from the theoretical normal age? The statistics for average age computed from the four schools were as follows:

GRADE	AGE		GRADE	AGE
1B.....	6.17 years		1A.....	6.57 years
2B.....	7.45 years		2A.....	7.67 years
3B.....	8.44 years		3A.....	8.81 years
4B.....	9.3 years		4A.....	10.08 years
5B.....	10.71 years		5A.....	10.89 years
6B.....	11.54 years	For	6A.....	11.97 years
7B.....	12.49 years	three	7A.....	12.84 years
8B.....	13.50 years	schools	8A.....	13.63 years

Individually the schools showed the following results:

#### HOLLAND

GRADE	AGE	GRADE	AGE
1B.....	6.3 years	1A.....	6.7 years
2B.....	7.6 years	2A.....	7.7 years
3B.....	8.7 years	3A.....	8.9 years
4B.....	9.4 years	4A.....	9.7 years
5B.....	10.86 years	5A.....	10.87 years
6B.....	11.6 years	6A.....	12.1 years
7B.....	12.88 years	7A.....	12.83 years
8B.....	13.5 years	8A.....	14. years

#### LOGAN

GRADE	AGE	GRADE	AGE
1B.....	6.1 years	1A.....	6.5 years
2B.....	7.3 years	2A.....	7.4 years
3B.....	8.26 years	3A.....	8.26 years
4B.....	9.3 years	4A.....	10.10 years
5B.....	10.81 years	5A.....	10.81 years
6B.....	11.4 years	6A.....	12.02 years
7B.....	12.3 years	7A.....	12.7 years
8B.....	13.6 years	8A.....	13.6 years

#### LYNDALE

GRADE	AGE	GRADE	AGE
1B.....	6.0 years	1A.....	6.3 years
2B.....	7.2 years	2A.....	7.9 years
3B.....	8.3 years	3A.....	8.8 years
4B.....	9.1 years	4A.....	9.5 years

LYNDALE (*Continued*)

GRADE	AGE	GRADE	AGE
5B.....	10.2 years	5A.....	10.7 years
6B.....	11.1 years	6A.....	11.7 years
7B.....	12.3 years	7A.....	13.0 years
8B.....	13.4 years	8A.....	13.3 years

## WASHINGTON

GRADE	AGE	GRADE	AGE
1B.....	6.3 years	1A.....	6.8 years
2B.....	7.7 years	2A.....	8.2 years
3B.....	8.5 years	3A.....	9.3 years
4B.....	9.4 years	4A.....	11.05 years
5B.....	11. years	5A.....	11.2 years
6B.....	12.08 years	6A.....	12.09 years

To summarize, 17.8 per cent of retardation is contrasted with 8 per cent of advancement: 764 years of retardation with 236 of advancement. The Lyndale School, representing families living much above the marginal standard of living, presented the lowest retardation per cent and the highest advancement per cent, while the Washington with its many dependent families showed the opposite results. The average age was found in all but one grade to be in the first year of the two years called normal. The one grade showing an exception was 4A, which instead of giving an average age of 9+ gave 10.08 years. This would indicate that retardation was especially acute at that period. In comparing the Washington and Lyndale, it was found that while the Washington had 12.08 and 12.09 years as average ages for 6B and 6A grades, the Lyndale had 11.1 and 11.7, a difference in 6B of nearly a year. The 4A grade presented the most striking contrast--11.05 years for the Washington and 9.5 in the Lyndale--thus showing the pupils in the Washington 1.55 years older. These facts alone forecast the deduction that there is a definite relation between dependency and retardation.

## RETARDATION AMONG CHILDREN OF DEPENDENT FAMILIES

Having determined normal school progress, thereby establishing a standard by which the retardation of children of dependent families might be measured, the next step was to select a typical group of these children. This was accomplished, it was judged,



by considering the children from the families coming under the care of the Minneapolis Associated Charities between October, 1916 and March, 1917.

In general, children falling between the ages of 6 and 16, on February 1, 1917, were selected from the records for study. The grade for each child was established at any specific time, and the age at the beginning of that semester ascertained. Such procedure caused variation in dates but prevented the dropping of many children who could not be located at one set time. Most of the grades and ages were for February 1, 1917, a large number were for September 1, 1917, while smaller numbers were for February, 1918, February and September, 1916 and 1915.

The sources of information for the grades of the children were fivefold, being, in order of the frequency of their use, grade record cards, teachers' registers, school directories, the child's teacher, and the principal's memory. The relative merits of these are varied. Most accurate were the grade record cards. As these were classified generally according to grades and were often distributed in the rooms, it was not practical or possible to use them entirely. When these cards were once located their information was authoritative. Least trustworthy were the principal's memory and an old directory wherein the advance from the fall grade to the spring grade was not consistently noted. In ascertaining grades the greatest difficulty lay in the location of the child. The school district he was in at the time the Associated Charities case was active was very often not the one he was in at the time of the study. The schools of Minneapolis have not yet afforded the expense of an alphabetical file for all pupils giving their school district. Therefore when a child had once moved and his census card was transferred to his new district, he was extremely difficult to find. Two other methods were used to find the grades of children who had moved from the original school which they attended at the time the Associated Charities case was active. The first was made possible by Mr. David H. Holbrook, director of the Department of Attendance and Vocational Guidance of the Board of Education. To forty-five school principals, circulars containing children's names were mailed with the request that the grades and present place of attendance be indicated. In this way some 227 children were located. The

second method used for obtaining the grades of the residue of children still remaining was the telephoning of schools.

The birth dates of the children were taken from the school census cards. These dates are considered sufficiently reliable for court evidence and are secured from "nativity cards" filled out at home by the parents of the child. In comparing them with the dates given on the Associated Charities records, many differences were found. As the Associated Charities records did not completely give the birth dates for all the children, and as the method of obtaining them was usually subtraction by each Visitor of the given age, and was not done with pencil and paper in hand at the time of receiving the information, it was decided that of the two the school census cards were more accurate. However, in cases where deception was purposed, it is realized that ages given the school tended to be older than was true, for two reasons. An over busy parent may first have wished to enter the child in school early, and secondly, may have planned to secure an employment certificate for him as soon as possible. In regard to ages, it is especially emphasized that a child was not called, for example, 14 on February 1, 1917, unless he had fully completed his fourteenth year at that time—even if the incompleteness may have been only one day. This tended toward the report showing children younger than they were and explains, for example, the twelve five year-old children in 1B grade (Figure 6) who were in reality probably six during the first month of the semester. This was the basis upon which the study of normal retardation was made.

Such was the method of procedure. The names of 2,052 children were taken from the Associated Charities records. Of these, 386 children could not be located, and for 41 the birth dates could not be found, as the school census cards were misplaced; 226 children were listed as attending parochial schools although their attendance there was not verified. These children were dropped as the normal retardation in parochial schools was not known. Twenty children had employment certificates and were therefore not in school, 14 had "home permits," 11 were in special state schools such as state reformatories, hospitals, or feeble-

mined homes, and 3 were married. This made a total of 701 who were eliminated, leaving 1,351 of whom the study was made.

These 1,351 pupils were, of course, distributed among the different grades and ages in proportions different from the 2,828 pupils in the four schools (Figures 1 and 6). The first, second, and third grades numbered respectively 237, 202, and 193 pupils of the 1,351, while the eighth grade had only 74 members. There was a drop from 137 in the seventh grade to 74 in the eighth, which may be partially accounted for by the fact that some becoming 16 years of age in the seventh grade may have left school to be wage earners. Swelled numbers in the lower grades and scant numbers in the higher grades may also be due to the greater number of young children in dependent families. This may explain too the disproportionately large number of children young in years. Among the 1,351, the maximum number in any year group was 182 who were 8 years of age. The numbers in the other year groups were almost uniformly graduated from this maximum. That the maximum number was not 6 or 7 years old, as the grade distribution would indicate, may be accounted for by the fact that the compulsory education law does not force the child to be in school till he is 8 years old.

Of the 1,351 pupils, 418 were retarded or 30.94 per cent (Figure 6).

232 pupils or 17.17 per cent of the whole	were retarded 1 year
119 pupils or 8.81 per cent of the whole	were retarded 2 years
42 pupils or 3.11 per cent of the whole	were retarded 3 years
17 pupils or 1.26 per cent of the whole	were retarded 4 years
3 pupils or .22 per cent of the whole	were retarded 5 years
5 pupils or .37 per cent of the whole	were retarded 6 years

The 418 pupils represented 709 years of retardation.

Among the same 1,351 pupils there were 80 advanced pupils or 5.92 per cent.

75 pupils or 5.55 per cent of the whole	were advanced 1 year
5 pupils or .37 per cent of the whole	were advanced 2 years

The 80 pupils thus represented 85 years of advancement.

Grade	Age of Pupils																	Total of pupils per grade	Advanced	Retarded
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17						
1B	1	11	72	26	12													122	12	12
1A		1	21	63	18	8	2	1	1									115	1	30
2B			9	37	43	11	6	1		1								108	9	19
2A				29	33	15	11	2	1		3							94	0	32
3B				6	42	22	10	3	2	1	1	1						88	6	18
3A				2	21	46	19	8	6	2		1						105	2	36
4B					10	22	21	12	9	2	3							79	10	26
4A					1	21	35	16	10	4	1							88	1	31
5B					1	11	28	24	15	7	2	2						90	12	26
5A					1	1	19	27	15	17	8	5						93	2	45
6B							8	29	19	15	5	2						78	8	22
6A							4	15	24	22	9	7	1					82	4	39
7B								3	17	18	15	8	2					63	3	25
7A								6	15	16	22	13	2					74	6	37
8B								2	1	17	10	8	1					39	3	9
8A									1	9	12	7	4					33	1	11
Totals	1	12	102	163	182	157	163	149	136	131	91	54	10	0				1351	80	418

Total number of pupils . . . . . 1351

Total number of pupils advanced . . . . . 80

Total number of pupils retarded . . . . . 418

FIGURE 6. Associated Charities

The dependent group showed the following average ages for each grade.

GRADE	AGE	GRADE	AGE
1B.....	6.30 years	1A.....	7.22 years
2B.....	7.77 years	2A.....	8.38 years
3B.....	8.80 years	3A.....	9.40 years
4B.....	10.07 years	4A.....	10.32 years
5B.....	10.99 years	5A.....	11.74 years
6B.....	11.82 years	6A.....	12.51 years
7B.....	13.22 years	7A.....	13.36 years
8B.....	13.61 years	8A.....	14.12 years

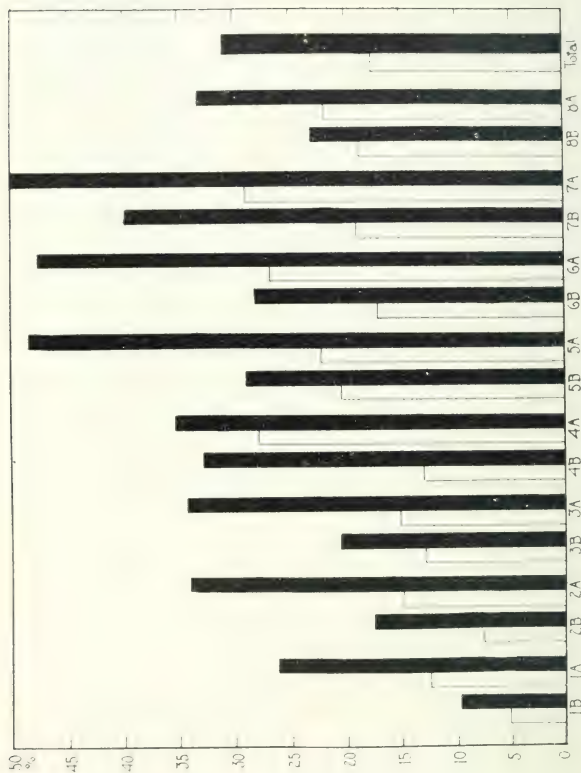


FIGURE 7. Showing comparative retardation in percentages between children of the four schools, or normal group, and children of the Associated Charities, or dependent group. White represents per cent retarded in the four schools; black represents per cent retarded in the Associated Charities.

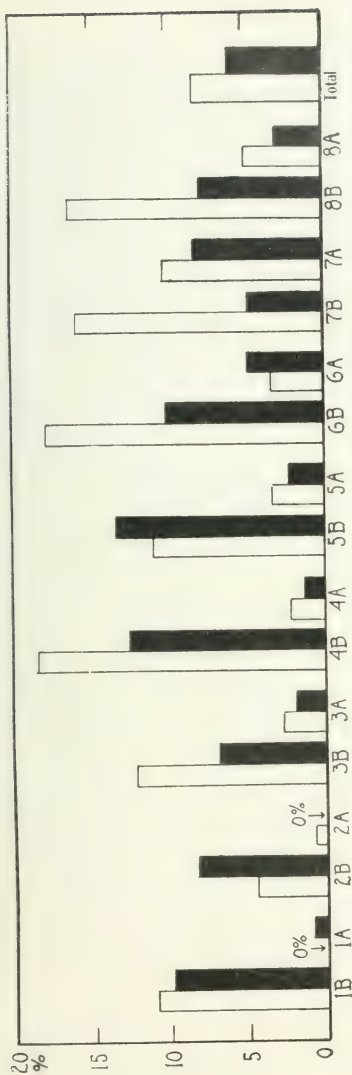


FIGURE 8. Showing comparative advancement in percentages between children of the four schools, or normal group, and children of the Associated Charities, or dependent group. White represents per cent advanced in the four schools; black represents per cent advanced in the Associated Charities.

To summarize and interpret these figures, 30.94 per cent of the children in dependent families are retarded compared to 17.8 per cent in the average group. (See Figure 7.) Five hundred and four pupils of the normal group represent 764 years of retardation, while only 418 of the dependent group represent 709 years. Of the dependent pupils, 5.92 per cent are advanced, while 8 per cent of the normal group are advanced. (See Figure 8.) Average ages present a striking contrast. As has been before noted, average age in the normal group was, in all but one grade, the first year of the two years called normal. In the dependent group, average age in all of the A grades and in two of the B grades was in the second year of the two years called normal. The two B grades having an average age in the second normal year were 4B and 7B. The grade showing most retardation in the normal group studied was 4A. The greatest difference between average age in the dependent group and in the normal group was found in 5A grade, the former being .85 years older. The least difference was in 8B and 1B—the former being .11 and .13 years respectively older. The dependent group were on the average .46+ year, or nearly one half a year, older than the normal group.

#### CONCLUSIONS BASED ON FACTS

Since, therefore, out of each 100 children of the normal group, approximately 18 will be retarded, while out of each 100 children of dependent families, approximately 31 will be retarded; since the average ages in the latter group are markedly higher—the increase ranging from 1 or 2 months to over 10 months, and averaging nearly half of a year—it is to be concluded that dependency has some vital connection with retardation. Until we know the total number of retarded children in the public schools and the total number of retarded children of dependent families in the public schools, the proportion of retarders furnished by dependent families can not be stated. However, we do here know that families below the normal standard of living are furnishing 13 more retarded children in every 100 than is their share.

We have the fact established. Next to be determined are those causes of retardation which are the inevitable accompaniments of dependency. Is it malnutrition, is it continual shifting

of the family from one locality to another, is it late school entrance, is it bad heredity, is it merely lack of intellectual background—what is it in the life of the dependent family that is retarding the child?

Having established the fact and determined the causes, the next question is, Why shall we eliminate retardation? What will happen if we do not cure or prevent it? Individually the retarded child is below the normal standard of mentality. He has not learned in the few years of his life as much of the 3 R's as his fellow mates. He has not kept up with the race. But from the broader viewpoint of the common welfare, the retarded child, a future citizen, is starting his life as a social misfit. Unless some adjustment occurs, he, as an adult, will still be a misfit, a laggard in the social group. The efficiency of the state, therefore, demands not that the child who is retarded be merely carried along by the school from year to year till the law allows him to drop out uneducated and inefficient, but that the fact of his retardation be faced squarely with a sound program to involve; first, amelioration of the existing condition by placing him where he receives specialized attention; second and more important, an attack individually and socially on the causes of his condition, that retardation may in the future be eliminated.

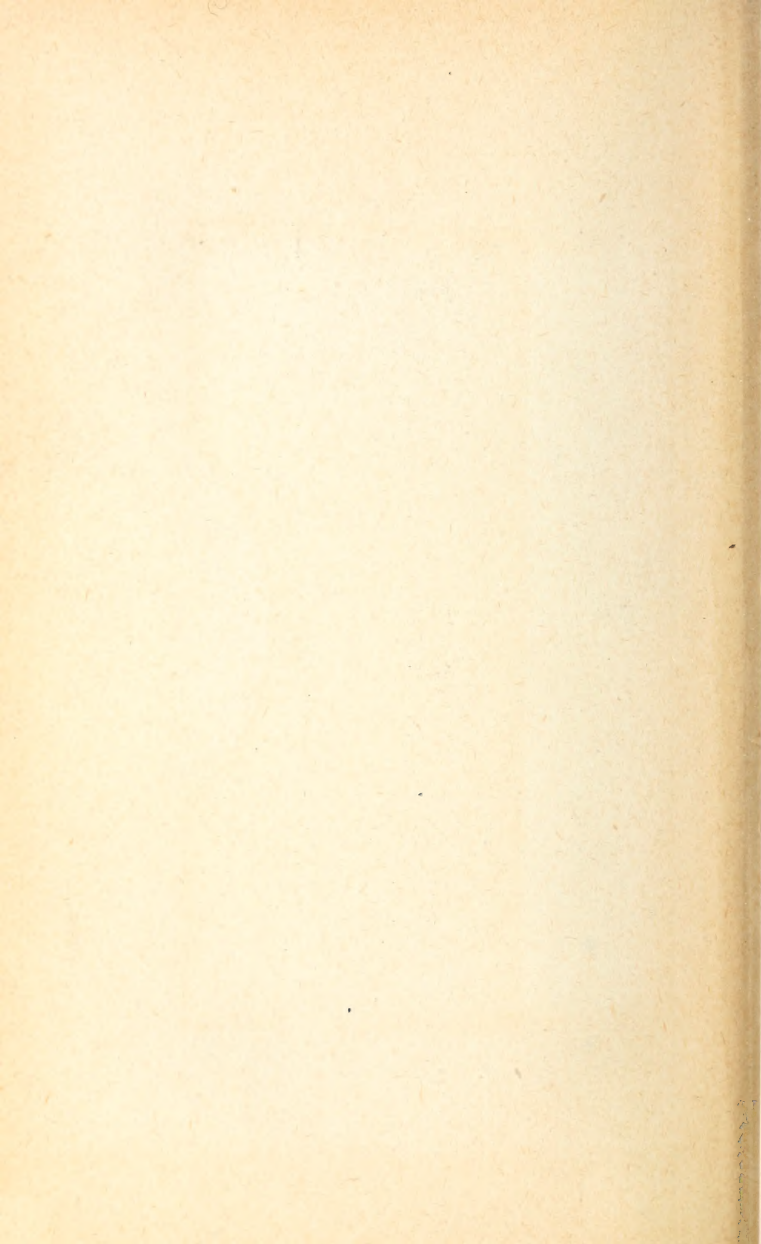












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